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DOCUMENTS AND NARRATIVES  
CONCERNING THE  
DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST  
OF LATIN AMERICA

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RELATION OF THE DISCOVERY  
AND CONQUEST OF THE KINGDOMS  
OF PERU

BY  
PEDRO PIZARRO

IN TWO VOLUMES  
VOLUME I

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TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH AND ANNOTATED

BY  
PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS

THE CORTES SOCIETY

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## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

The present translation is based upon the only two known editions of Pedro Pizarro's "Relacion". Of these the older will be found in Martin Fernandez de Navarrete's *Colección de documentos para la historia de España*, Volume V, pages 201-388, Madrid, 1844; the other will be found in the *Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú*, edited by Horacio H. Urteaga and Carlos A. Romero, Volume VI, pages 1-185, Lima, 1917.

The present editor has been at considerable pains to amplify his text with useful supplementary material. In translating he has adhered to the original, even preserving the less important vagaries of style for the sake of creating the same atmosphere in the translation as that which is found in the Spanish text; but, in crucial places of special importance, he has never hesitated to give a loose translation if obscurity as to an important

point would otherwise be created. Capitalization and the spelling of proper names follow the original.

Thanks are due to Dr. A. C. Rivas of the Pan-American Union, to Dr. A. Gandolfo Herrera of the Argentine Embassy, Washington, and of Buenos Aires, and to Prof. Marshall H. Saville for aid in translating certain passages. To my mother, Mrs. James Means, I am also indebted for help of various kinds.

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

September 25, 1920

AN INTRODUCTION  
TO  
PEDRO PIZARRO'S  
RELACION DEL DESCUBRIMIENTO Y  
CONQUISTA DE LOS REINOS  
DEL PERÚ

*Preliminary Comments*

In order fully to comprehend the work of Pedro Pizarro and its value we must inform ourselves somewhat fully as to what may be termed the historical landscape which he describes and of which he himself forms a feature. In order to make this as convenient as possible for the student, the present translation of the "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú" is provided with a sufficiency of introductory and explanatory matter, together with copious bibliographical material and auxiliary appendices.

The "Relacion" is in effect, though not in intention, an epitaph upon a civilization whose little day is done. In order that some idea

of the historical and geographical aspects of that civilization may be at hand for the reader's ready consultation, something will be said of the development of that civilization, of its environment and of the circumstances of its conquest by the forces of Castile. It will also be found that some data as to our author himself are provided, all of which, it is to be hoped, will aid in giving to Pedro Pizarro the preëminent position which he deserves, but which few, save the great Prescott, have accorded him.

*Pre-Columbian Peru*

Little by little modern research into documentary sources, modern analytical study of folklore and tradition, and modern archeological investigation are, as it were, peeling off the shroud-like wrappings which have so long kept from us clear perception of the ancient history of the Andean region, generically called Peru by early Spanish writers, and, more anciently still, called Ttahuantinsuyu, The Land of the Four Provinces.

Nevertheless, though we of today know far more than did the writers of great Prescott's generation, our knowledge is still very imperfect; almost every year of study by investigators of several nationalities adds some new items to what we already possess. Consequently, all statements made today, and all theories now put forth, must be frankly acknowledged to be tentative, strictly subject to confirmation or to reversal by future study. If we bear this in mind, however, there can be no harm in stating what now seem to be the salient features of pre-Columbian history in the Andean region.

It is probable, then, that the region in question received its earliest inhabitants from Central America, perchance two thousand years ago, more or less. At that time Central America had long been the seat of a complex and rather numerous population who had, for centuries, been slowly advancing from the humble stage of culture in which their distant Asiatic ancestors had lived.<sup>1</sup> As a result of growing pressure, perhaps economic or

agrarian, perhaps political, perhaps of some unconjectured description, little groups of families or clans began to wander, quite undirected, quite vaguely, down the shores of the land-mass on which they lived. There was here no element of the carefully planned migration which some writers have sought to establish. Rather, the series of movements instituted in this indefinitely remote epoch was of precisely the same haphazard nature as that which first gave our continent its earliest inhabitants. In time two streams, both intermittent no doubt, of undirected little knots of nomads began to pour southward, some following the Atlantic seaboard and some that of the Pacific. A number of the tribes thus aimlessly drifting found homes as time went on along their line of travel, and they established themselves permanently in the new found lands. Their progress thereafter depended on what degree of inborn genius for advancement they may have possessed or upon the reaction on them of their new surroundings.<sup>2</sup>

As the result of this process, or one very like it, a period which we may roughly date as 200 A.D. found a long line of rather advanced seaboard states flourishing on the coast of Peru. In the interior, on the Atlantic watershed of the continent, another set of societies, less advanced, but possessing excellent cultural potentialities, was established, its ancestor-folk having drifted inland from the Atlantic shore. As yet, in all probability, there was little, if any, contact between the two sets of cultures.<sup>3</sup>

As time went on, naturally enough, both sets of societies, those inland and those on the Pacific littoral, underwent modifications of one sort and another. They kept thrusting out feelers, so to speak; trade constantly enlarged the sphere of their interests and geographical knowledge. In time, the two met, blended, and to some extent, merged. The result was the weird but colourful civilization to which modern nomenclature applies the name "Tiahuanaco", using the comparatively recent name of an important centre of

the culture as an arbitrarily chosen label for the whole. The Tiahuanaco culture, passing through many phases, both chronologically and geographically, was probably at its height between 500 and 1000 A.D.<sup>4</sup>

It is now well known that the civilization of Central America underwent a marked period of depression between 700 and 1000 A.D. It seems not unlikely that a similar phenomenon took place in the Andean region in the tenth century A.D. It is fairly clear that the cultural retrogression which then took place was far more pronounced in the highlands than it was on the coast. It is not known, of course, whether or not the causes of this contrast were economic, climatic, or otherwise. We can but conjecture, more or less fruitlessly, as to whether or no such calamities as incursions by savage and undeveloped tribes, as pestilences, or as earthquakes, may not have had uneven results in the highlands and on the littoral.<sup>5</sup>

At all events, it is comparatively certain that the societies in the coast valleys con-

tinued with the rather elevated degree of culture to which they had attained previously to the postulated catastrophe. Some dropping-off, some loss in skill and in dexterity, some shortening of sail with respect to political pretensions perhaps did take place. But whatever limitations of this sort may have been fixed upon, cultural activities on the coast were as nothing in comparison to the chaos and retardation which prevailed for generations in the highlands, during the eleventh century and, in some localities, for many decades thereafter. Probably by 1250, more or less, the coast civilizations were again as brilliant as they had been in the earlier days, and they continued so until about 1400.<sup>6</sup>

In the interior, about the year 1100, a small and not powerful tribe, called Inca, began its extraordinary career. The simplest way for us to picture Inca history is to sketch, very briefly, the accomplishments of the various chiefs of the Inca tribe.<sup>7</sup>

First of all, in the course of the development which changed the Inca tribe into a

dynasty, the Incas had to move from their original home, some leagues south-west of Cuzco,<sup>8</sup> into the Cuzco valley itself. At that time the whole mountain region of the Andes was occupied by tribes or *ayllus* which were in varying grades of culture, but most of which, no doubt, were vestiges of the former Tiahuanaco "empire" already referred to. Of these tribes the Incas were one. When, about 1100, or shortly before, they moved into the Cuzco valley, they found several other tribes, whose culture was not very different from their own, already in possession. Strife followed, as an outcome of which the Incas definitely became dominant in the Cuzco valley and its neighbourhood.<sup>9</sup>

The first semi-historic chief of the Incas is known to us as Sinchi Rocca, a name which merits a few words of comment. *Sinchi* is the title borne by the heads of tribes at the time the Incas moved to Cuzco. It seems not unlikely that the *sinchi* were originally elected by the heads of families to lead the warriors in times of unusual stress or danger,

much in the fashion of the 'early Roman dictator'. Gradually, however, the *sinchi*-ship changed itself into an hereditary office. The occurrence of this title in connexion with the name of the first known Inca chief strongly suggests that he was merely one *sinchi* among a throng of others, just as the Inca tribe was but one of a host of similar tribes.<sup>10</sup> The first rung of the ladder which the Inca tribe was destined to climb was, then, the subjection by its *sinchi* of other *sinchis* to his will.<sup>11</sup>

Sinchi Rocca (ca. 1105-1140) ruled over a compact little hegemony of tribes in the neighbourhood of the Cuzco valley. To the North and to the South, in the highlands, spread out a long series of tribes much like those which acknowledged his overlordship. Here and there, notably at Cuzco itself, at Chavin, at Tiahuanaco and at many other places, ruins of ancient buildings, surviving from the earlier empire days remained, as did also, no doubt, a considerable mass of customs, folklore and beliefs.

Not unnaturally, the first conquests made by the Incas lay toward the South. Their own earlier home, and the seat of the ancient empire were in that direction. Perhaps floating fables of another era encouraged them to turn their eyes in that locality. Under Lloque Yupanqui (1140–1195, circa), they progressed gradually up the broad open Uru-bamba valley, adding tribe after tribe, sometimes by force of arms, sometimes by guile, sometimes by a cunning mixture of strength and diplomacy, to their growing realm. By the end of this Inca's reign they had made themselves supreme throughout the strip of territory between Cuzco on the North and Lake Titicaca on the South. At the Pass of Vilcañota, mid-way between Cuzco and the northern end of the Lake, they passed from the region where their own language, Runa-simi or Quechua, was the dominant one into that where Colla, incorrectly called Aymará, prevailed. In later times, at least, there was a wall across the vale at this point, a wall which, perhaps, was built by the earlier Incas

for strategic purposes in their wars against the folk of Colla stock.<sup>12</sup>

The third Inca, Mayta Capac (ca. 1195–1230) carried the Inca rule entirely around Lake Titicaca, thrusting out expeditions into the eastern forests on the one hand and toward the Pacific Ocean on the other. Southwardly he carried his rule considerably beyond Chuqui-apu, now La Paz. The people with whom he had to contend were Collas, not higher cultured than the Incas, albeit they lived in the heart of the region where the Tiahuanaco “empire” had flourished prior to the putative catastrophe already mentioned.

Capac Yupanqui, the fourth Inca (ca. 1230–1250) was sovereign during the time when further conquests southward were made in the highlands, and when the Inca domination upon the coast was inaugurated and assured by the addition of the littoral in the vicinity of Nasca, Acari and Arequipa to the Inca realm.

We have now reached the end of what may be termed the Early Inca Period. It is a

time characterized by the carrying out with notable success of a series of preliminary conquests. The foes of the Incas at this period were evenly matched with them in point of culture and of strength. In one way or another the Inca tribe of Cuzco always won out in its wars, and, by means of skillfully consolidating the additions to its territory and its subjects, it built up an ample dominion, one of sufficient strength to meet successfully the sterner struggles of the future.

In the Middle Inca Period, Rocca II is the first Sapa Inca or sovereign, for the Incas may now safely be called a royal clan. In his day (ca. 1250–1315) conquests in the South were of but slight importance in comparison with those made in the North. The latter brought him into hostile contact with the first of the stronger foemen whom the Incas had to vanquish, that is, with the Chanca confederation, a society which had been growing in much the same fashion as that of the Incas, one which controlled large regions in the highlands north of Cuzco.<sup>13</sup> He tried out his

strength against these people, 'and his wars with them were a sort of overture to those which took place later. Comparatively speaking, the martial activities of Rocca II were modest; he seems to have devoted a generous measure of his attention to internal reforms and to material progress in several directions.<sup>14</sup>

Yahuar Huaccac (ca. 1315-1347) was really named Cusi Hualpa, but the name Yahuar Huaccac, He-who-weeps-blood, is the one by which he is generally known. He was anything but able and valiant. The conquests made during his reign were all in the South, and they seem to have been made by his generals rather than by the Inca himself. Seeing his pusillanimous nature, the Chancas, who doubtless perceived that strife was inevitable, determined to rid themselves forever of the menace of Inca domination. In this emergency, Yahuar Huaccac conducted himself with characteristic cowardice, the situation being saved only by the illegal, but providential, interference of the Sapa Inca's son, Viracocha. The advancing hosts of the

Chanca confederation were valiantly met by Prince Hatun Tupac at the plain of Xaquixaguana, now called Anta or Zurite. This plain is some leagues to the North of Cuzco. Because of its wide expanse and because of the fact that it commands the approach to Cuzco from the North, it has been a battleground for centuries. Legend tells us that Prince Hatun Tupac was strengthened and encouraged by a visitation from the god Viracocha whose name he adopted and to whose honour he erected a great temple at Urcos, south of Cuzco. This battle of Xaquixaguana was undoubtedly the crisis of the Inca dynasty's career. On the slopes of the mountains round about the plain throngs of the Inca's vassals watched in the rôle of calculating neutrals to see in which direction the tide of combat would turn, and when the Chancas seemed to be doomed they hastened down to take a hand in their vanquishment. Had Viracocha lost this battle, the Chancas, and not the Incas, would have been dominant in the mountains thenceforth.<sup>15</sup> After the day

was won, Viracocha moved his father into retirement and he himself assumed control of the dominion. The site of the battle became a favourite residence of his, and the wonderful terraces of his palace of Caquia Xaquixaguana (My refuge Xaquixaguana) may still be seen.<sup>16</sup>

During the reign of Viracocha (ca. 1347–1400) many reforms and improvements were effected within the dominion. It is probable, likewise, that some of the people far to the South, in the region of Tucuman, voluntarily came into the empire. The territories formerly subject to the Chancas were also consolidated in the usual thorough-going manner of the Incas.<sup>17</sup>

With the Inca Pachacutec (ca. 1400–1448) we come to the beginning of the great or Late Inca Period. Large sections of the mountains and an important part of the coast were all solidly a part of the Inca empire. The remainder of the coast was still the seat of a series of societies more highly civilized than any of the mountaineers. It was now the

task of the Incas to overcome these advanced and formidable confederacies on the littoral. The latter had long been at war among themselves; they had all manner of weapons and fortifications; their cities were stoutly defended by massive walls and by fighters with spear-throwers, slings and other weapons perhaps superior to those which the highlanders then knew.<sup>18</sup> In the long strife upon which the Inca dynasty of Cuzco now entered they found foemen whom they could not scorn as being inferior to themselves in point of material culture and social organization; they met opponents from whom they might—and did—learn much in many ways; they encountered enemies upon whom they could not impose their own institutions in their totality and with whom, perforce, they had to compromise with respect to such matters as religion, language, art-forms and architecture.<sup>19</sup>

At the time when Pachacutec, whom the late Sir Clements Markham hailed as “The best all-round genius produced by the native

race of America", <sup>20</sup> came to the Inca-ship, the coast, north of that part of it already held by the Incas, was ruled by four great chiefs each of whom had vassal chiefs under his authority. The four great lords were, beginning in the South, the chief of Chinchu, the lord of Runahuanac (by name or by title Chuquimancu), the chief of Pachacamac (whose title was Cuismanco and who ruled a wide expanse of coast lands, rivalled only by him whom the Incas called Chimu Capac), the Great Chimu, who was the last of the four great lords, and who held sway over the entire coast from Huaman (now la Barranca) up to the Chira River, and perhaps beyond.<sup>21</sup> It is to be understood that these coastal domains were rather loose-jointed and feudal in their political institutions. Originally each separate valley, bordered by the deserts, the mountains and the sea, had been a self-containing political entity. But, by a process similar to that which has been noted in the highlands, the stronger chiefs gradually overawed and subdued their weaker neighbours,

permitting them to rule on as vassal kings. Thus were extensive feudal states built up in the course of time, and it was with them that the Inca had now to contend, for they banded together, forgetting their own border warfare, to combat him, the common enemy. The conquest of the coastal lordships occupied a long stretch of years, but at length, thanks to martial strength and strategic cunning, thanks likewise, no doubt, to timely diplomatic blandishments and to judicious compromise, it was an accomplished fact, Pachacutec being the leader in the vast undertaking. The Incas now found themselves the acknowledged sovereigns of league upon league of well-tilled coastal valley, of thousands of high-cultured dwellers in the valleys, and of many an imposing town, much more imposing, indeed, than their own yet were. In a word, with Pachacutec the Incas were at the zenith of their development. It is true that their rule was wider spread in later reigns, but it is doubtful if their power and worth were truly greater.<sup>22</sup>

The next sovereign of the Inca' dynasty was Tupac Yupanqui (ca. 1448-1482). He followed in the footsteps of his father, adding large regions in what is now Ecuador to his empire. In that country, on both shore and highlands, native cultures of considerable vigour had long flourished.<sup>23</sup> It is not yet made clear what their history may have been, save in the broadest terms. It seems not impossible, however, that the dynasty of Quito, called Caran Scyri, may have had a history and a development much like that of the earlier Incas. The dwellers on the coast of Ecuador are still a great puzzle to investigators. In addition to these conquests, Tupac Yupanqui consolidated those begun in the highlands to the South by his father. He likewise, either in person or through his generals, added about half of modern Chile to his realm, coming in contact there with the hardy, brave, unconquerable Araucanians whose valour was such as to win immortality for them from the words of Ercilla y Zuñiga.<sup>24</sup> Likewise, a beginning was made of an unsuc-

cessful effort to subdue the savage Chiriguanas who were a part of the great Guarani stock of the eastern forests.<sup>25</sup>

Under Huayna Capac (1482-1525) there was but little conquering, save some minor military activities in the eastern portions of the empire both north and south of Cuzco. The extraordinary indigenous empire was at the fullest development territorially to which it ever attained. It is vain, at this distant time, to try and make flat statements which, in the nature of things, can never be either proved or disproved with finality. Nevertheless, when one observes the state of the Inca realm as it was between 1525 and 1531, he can not help thinking that the initial burst of expansive energy which had called the empire into being five centuries before had about spent its force, that the empire, if left unmolested a few generations more, would have broken up into its original elements.

Many things point to the probability of the Inca empire being, in 1531, a state menaced by permanent disintegration, if not by actual

collapse and ruin. Huayna Capac's legitimate heir was Titu Cusi Hualpa (better known as Huascar), who was the son of the Sapa Inca's chief wife. He had another son, however, by a secondary wife, who was probably, but not surely, a daughter of the vanquished royal house of Quito.<sup>26</sup> This son, Atahualpa, was more dearly beloved by the old Inca than was Huascar, and so Huayna Capac made him his heir so far as the northern portion of his realm was concerned, leaving only the southern two-thirds, with Cuzco as their capital, to Huascar. It is, of course, within the bounds of possibility that the Sapa Inca's intention was wiser than his act. He may have perceived that the empire was becoming unwieldy, and he may have hoped that, by dividing it thus into two independent parts, he would give to each a new lease of life, just as a plant is invigorated by pruning, and by a lopping off of branches. If this was his intention and desire, however, it was not productive of the good results he hoped for, because both Huascar and Atahualpa were

ambitious, and both aspired to hold the same power that had been held by their father. As a result of this, civil war broke out between the two, and Ttahua-ntin-suyu was being wrenched and weakened by it when the Spaniards came in 1531-1532.

If the fact of civil war is such as to suggest that the Inca empire was degenerate, it is by no means the only thing which points in that direction. Beginning humbly enough, the Incas had gradually increased their prestige and power. The earlier sovereigns of the dynasty had married the daughters of neighbouring *sinchis* with whom they sought alliance. As time went on, however, they developed a dynastic haughtiness, a quaint tribal snobbishness, which caused them to hold themselves aloof from and vastly superior to even the highest of their vassals. Incestuous marriages resulted from this tendency, the earliest being that of Viracocha with his sister Mama Runtucaya.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps this custom, combining with the bad example set by the morally nasty people of some parts of

the coast, was the cause of a 'real physical degeneracy on the part of the later Incas. At all events, we know that Huayna Capac was a sick man, and it is by no means impossible that his ailment was syphilis or some kindred disease.<sup>28</sup>

Such, in very brief form, was the history of the Inca empire. It now remains for us to say something about its institutions and its material culture.

Methodicity is perhaps the most prominent characteristic feature of Inca political institutions. In their early days, they continued in office those *sinchis* whom they conquered, each tribe preserving its internal organization composed of the heads of families. The family, and not the individual, was the basis and unit of society. Extending this policy to their future and later conquests, the Incas mediatized those coastal chiefs whom they overcame, only gradually systematizing and regulating the internal political mechanism of their possessions. In the last reigns of the Inca period there was an elaborately

methodical, but very effective, hierarchy of administrators, beginning with the heads of families and working up to the formerly independent province with its mediatized *curaca* or chief. These, in turn, yielded obedience to the governor of one of the four great provinces who, finally, were answerable to the Sapa Inca himself. The Incas showed great astuteness in thus adapting to their needs social institutions already established in use.<sup>29</sup>

The need of such a system was created by the nature of the fundamental policies of Inca rule. Two conceptions as to character of that rule may easily be formed from a study of the materials at our disposal. To judge merely by what we read in the pages of Pedro Pizarro and in those of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, the subjects of the Sapa Inca were in a doleful plight indeed. According to such writers there never has been a government more all-pervasive, not to say meddlesome, than that of the Incas. They portray a state in which individual free-will and personal liberty of action were practically non-existent.

Every least little thing was liable to regulation and supervision by the government. There were "overseers" by the score, all making the most intimate examination into the personal affairs of the people. All society, women as well as men, was divided up into groups on a basis of the amount of work they could do. At every angle of his existence, the subject of the Sapa Inca daily encountered some functionary representing the supreme and sacrosanct authority of the sovereign. Blind obedience and unquestioning self-abnegation must ever be accorded.

Such is one of the two possible interpretations. Is it just? Is it complete? Many modern students, including Sir Clements Markham, have thought that the lot of the people as a whole was not by any means unhappy. Elsewhere<sup>30</sup> the present writer has presented this brighter side of the picture. Granting that governmental supervision was very wide spread, is such supervision, properly directed, necessarily productive of woe among the masses? Can the

miserable state of some of the peoples in the Andes of today justly be said to have been caused by the rigid governmental control of Inca days? History clearly proclaims that it can not, for there were in pre-Columbian Peru many vestiges, still full of real vigour, of that basic democracy which characterized the old *ayllu*. The head of the family still held much power, and he could still lift up his voice with telling insistence in the tribal assembly. He could still bring his complaint before his sovereign in person. Primogeniture was a practice of but slight rigidity among those people; if a young son by a secondary wife possessed more personal merit than the older sons of the primary wife, he could, if he wished, make that greater merit felt in a variety of ways. A man humbly born, if richly endowed by nature, could rise to positions of great trust. Justice and an attitude of fair-mindedness were prevalent. Social atrocities were unknown, at least so far as we can now judge, in the Andes prior to 1531, albeit militant

expansiveness, very much like that of Rome, was the rule. The fact that a total lack of the myriad economic irritations resultant from the use of specie or its substitutes was done away with by the non-existence among them of pecuniary considerations likewise did much to soften what might otherwise have been a rigorous system. Finally, a policy of *quid pro quo* was steadfastly adhered to; if much was demanded of the subject much was done for him. He need never fear hunger, nakedness, idleness or lack of shelter. If illness or old age overtook him, the state gave him all that he needed for comfort and well-being, and there was no humiliation involved in the acceptance of state aid, for it was given in exchange for the individual's services during his, or her, more vigorous years.

For religious purposes another hierarchy, with various grades of male and female members, existed. Characteristically, and like the Romans, the Incas usually made no attempt to blot out local cults provided only that their

own worship of the Sun, the Moon, and the Planets, was acknowledged as the official religion. The earlier and loftier adoration of an unseen God, called variously Viracocha, Irma, Con, or Pachacamac, a Creator-God of noble type, seems to have survived into Inca times, and to have been the property of the Inca tribe itself, in addition to the Sun-cult just mentioned. It is quite clear that there were wide gulfs, philosophically speaking, between the ruling class and the commonalty, for we have folklore which shows us that the Incas themselves were by no means wanting in sound ethical and philosophical concepts.<sup>31</sup>

In the matter of architecture, art, way of living, and in all the other aspects of material culture, the Incas manifested the same orderliness, the same methodicity and the same love of logical balance and rhythm that they displayed in everything else. They were apt pupils. Their growth with regard to architecture alone shows this. They were a people very like the Japanese in that they could seize with avidity upon good elements in the culture

of other folks and could weave adaptations of some of that alien culture's best elements into the fabric of their own civilization. Their earlier buildings were simply built, of uncut stones laid in mud. They were neither beautiful nor commodious nor solid. They were shelters, and rude ones, against the inclemencies of Andean climate. They were buildings no better than the peasant-dwellings of pre-Revolutionary France or the Shetland Island turf-huts of today. At Lake Titicaca, however, the Incas found vestiges of earlier buildings which stimulated them to learn the art of stone-cutting in which their predecessors had been so proficient. Structures of their middle period, such as some of the palaces at Cuzco and on the shores of Lake Titicaca, and, especially, the great temple of Viracocha at Urcos, show their progress. On the coast, when they came thither, they found huge cities of austere grandeur and awe-engendering size the architecture of which offered much nourishment to their imaginations. So, in the last

days of their career we find the Incas building cities and fortresses like Pisac, Machu Pichu, Cañar, Riobamba and Tomebamba. The outstanding features of these places is the magnificent masonry, quite without mortar, composed of perfectly dressed stones laid in faultlessly regular tiers. Most of the walls are straight, but here and there a round or an oval tower lends variety to the whole. The effect is one of splendid though stern solidity, and of infinitely painstaking workmanship. The Inca genius was not one which, in comparison with that of the coast dwellers, lent itself to exuberant colouration; rather it sought perfection of form, and regularity of mass. Richly sombre tones, relieved perhaps with the dull glint of gold or silver, made the interiors of Inca palaces voluptuously but darkly splendid. This was more so in Cuzco itself, probably, than elsewhere, for the usual building-stone there was a dull brown product of the vicinity, whereas on the coast adobe lent itself to mural painting, and in other

parts of the highlands brilliant pinkish-white granite was employed to a large extent.

The civilization which the Spaniards extinguished was, then, a very remarkable one. Yet, undeniably, it had lacks and limitations which prevented its rising out of the lower groups of civilizations. Among these the chief perhaps were the ignorance of writing, of wheeled vehicles, of iron, of milk and of efficient beasts of burden. To be sure, the Incas with their wonderful path-building ability, their careful administration aided by post-runners and beacon-fires, their skill in subjecting unruly elements by means of moving recalcitrant populations bodily into loyal districts, were able to accomplish very much in spite of the limitations under which they laboured. But all this only serves to make it more plain that their fundamental misfortune, like that of the Central American civilizations, was the utter isolation which robbed them of all that stimulating contact with outside peoples which would have sent them ahead by long strides.<sup>32</sup>

*The Status of Spanish Rule in America in 1531*

After the first voyage of Columbus, in 1492, the growth of Spanish control in the New World was rapid but, on the whole, erratic. The coasts of the South American land-mass, the West Indies, and Florida were well understood as early as 1507. Then, in 1513, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean and in so doing heard the first vague and enticing rumours of the Inca empire. In 1517 Hernandez de Cordova made a voyage which began the extension westward of the Spanish rule, for up to that time the rich territories bordering upon the Gulf of Mexico and including the great Aztec state and the wrecks of the Maya empire had remained unknown to the Christians. In the following year his explorations were continued and supplemented by those of Grijalva. These two men voyaged along the northern and western coasts of the peninsula of Yucatan. By some strange trick of Fate, Yucatan acquired the reputation of being an island, and

it did not win quite free of that character for many decades, though a map of about 1530, more authoritative than others, shows it as a peninsula.

The year 1519, however, is remarkable as showing us the beginning of the conquest by Spaniards of a native American civilization really formidable in quality. In that year Fernando Cortes began his spectacularly brilliant conquests in Mexico, where, by subduing the peoples controlled by the Aztec power of Tenochtitlan, he established a bi-racial society no less important and interesting than that founded in Peru by Pizarro. In November, 1523, Pedro de Alvarado (who also took part in the conquest of Peru) began the reduction to vassalage of the Cakchiquel-Quiché peoples of Guatemala. In the years 1524 and 1525 Cortes made his famous overland journey from southern Mexico to the Gulf of Honduras by way of Peten Itza, thus first bringing Spain into contact with those sturdy Itzas, vestiges of the Maya of long ago, who were not finally reduced until 1696. Finally, in 1526, Francisco

de Montejo the Elder and his son of the same name inaugurated their efforts to subdue the northern Maya states of Yucatan, the conquest of which was consummated in 1542.

All of these experiences were, inevitably, of value to the men who conquered Peru, for they gave an ability in the methods of fighting required and the sort of diplomacy most needed. Spain when she entered in upon her enterprise in the Andes was no tyro. She had worked out, at least to her own satisfaction, what were the best policies to pursue toward the natives and what were the most efficacious means of governing them. From her own institutional complex Spain selected various governmental and agrarian elements which, in Mexico, Yucatan and elsewhere, she put into force. Chief among institutions of this sort were the repartimientos (allotments of Indians) and the encomiendas (allotments of land, usually with its inhabitants as labourers), for these had been used by the Aragonese in their conquest of the Balearics under Jaime el conquistador (thirteenth century).

At the same time, the Spaniards in America learned that, though the intentions of the sovereign were most benign, his power, at such a vast distance, was weak in practice, and his wrath could easily be evaded. So self-seeking colonists in Mexico and elsewhere developed the custom of distorting native social institutions so as to make them serve their own unrighteous ends. In a short time an unjust attitude of mind crystallized itself into an honoured tradition, and the rapacity of colonists fed itself unrestrictedly upon the multitude of opportunities for exploitation which came to hand. Thus was created in the North a set of inter-racial grievances which were presently duplicated in South America, partly through the direct agency of men who had participated in the events in Mexico and Central America.<sup>33</sup>

*Geographical Aspects of the Work of Pedro Pizarro*

Being, as he was, one of the earliest writers on Peru, it is, perhaps, inevitable that Pedro

Pizarro should furnish us with valuable geographical data. On the whole, however, it is somewhat astonishing that we do not get from him more than we do.

It should be noted at the outset that the indigenes of the Andes were by no means lacking in a geographical consciousness. In the time of the Inca Pachacutec (ca. 1400–1448) they had for generations been growing in political power; Inca armies had long been subduing new regions and strange tribes. It was but natural that these conditions should create in the ruling class what we may call a geographical sensibility. Therefore we need not be especially surprised when we read of the use of some sort of relief-maps modelled in clay, maps which were made for the Inca Pachacutec and his successors. No doubt these relief-maps were crudely executed (though it is doubtful that they were more so than some of the Christian maps which we shall examine presently). Nevertheless, their purpose was truly geographic. They were instruments used in connexion with one of

the most effective elements of the Inca administrative mechanism. This was the system of transferred colonies, *mitimacuna* in Quechua and *mitimaes* in Castilian. These colonies were of varying sizes and they were established for divers reasons. If, for example, the Sapa Inca found some community in the highlands which was but recently brought within the territory subject to him to be unruly, the system of transferred colonies enabled him to transport that community bodily to some other region where it would be surrounded by other communities sincerely loyal to him. By their new neighbours the *mitimacuna* would presently be either cowed or inveigled into obedience to the Sapa Inca. It is not to be supposed that rulers so sagacious as the Incas did such things without due consideration of the geographical factors involved. Here it was that the relief-maps were used. By studying them the Inca could form some idea of the natural environment of those whom he proposed to transplant, and he could pick out for them some destination suitable in this

respect to their qualities. Transferred colonies were also used for military purposes and to exploit undeveloped regions.

Another manifestation of the geographical sensibility of the Incas is to be seen in the arrangements which they made in connexion with their conquest of the coast valleys. Their soldiers, being large-lunged mountaineers inured by many centuries of hereditary modification to highland conditions, found the warm and thick-aired littoral regions very onerous. This situation was met by a system of relays established by the later Incas. An army was formed for service on the coast, but within a short space of time it was relieved by a new army fresh from the highlands.

Finally, in the course of their evolution from an humble tribe surrounded by others equally strong into a proud and imperial dynasty ruling by force or by intellectual and spiritual terrorism over widely divergent peoples, the Incas developed the habit of dividing up the land into provinces, some of

them, if not all, having a sound foundation in ethnic facts. When their empire reached its ultimate dimensions they arbitrarily created four *suyu* or quarters. Cuzco was the centre of reckoning as, indeed, it was the focus of all things in Ttahu-ntin-suyu, the Land of the Four Provinces. To the North lay Chincha-suyu; to the East spread Anti-suyu; in the South was Colla-suyu, the land of the Colla folk; and in the West Cunti-suyu extended down to the southern valleys of the shore-lands.

It is upon this phase of Inca geographical lore that Pedro Pizarro throws valuable light. What he has to say upon the subject will be found toward the end of the *Relación*.

According to him, Puerto Viejo and its region was a province. It included what is now the Ecuadorian coast from Esmeraldas southward to and beyond Manta. Some parts of this extensive region were covered with humid and pestilential jungles through which plant-choked rivers ran; other parts were dry and sterile like the Peruvian coast

further south. At the time of the Inca conquest, and in the early Spanish times, the people of this district were comparative savages, though archeology reveals the fact that the region had been the seat of much more highly developed societies. It is very questionable if the Incas consolidated this region as thoroughly as they did others, for with the exception of fine large emeralds, it did not contain much to attract them. The people were very bestial in their habits.

Concerning the Island of la Puna which, according to our author, was the next province, more may be said. It lies at the mouth of the Guayaquil River. In appearance the Island is very pleasing, for it has steep bluffs about one hundred and fifty feet in height around its edge. Inland, the country presents a park-like appearance, having many open spaces with trees and shrubs, neither of them particularly tropical in character, distributed here and there. The climate is not especially hot, due to the proximity of the open sea, though up the river true trop-

ical conditions assert themselves. The Island, which is some twelve leagues in circumference, was subject to a curaca or chief whose name or title is given in various forms, Tumpala, Tumpalla, Tumbala or Tumbal being the more common ones. At the time of the conquest by Huayna Capac or by his generals, the chief of la Puna was allied with the chief of the region further up the river, a region called Huancavillca. Tumpalla, when faced with invasion by the Inca forces, behaved with singular cunning and treachery, pretending first to receive the Inca's emissaries in an amicable spirit, and later treacherously turning upon them. At the time when Pizarro and his men arrived upon the scene the people of la Puna seem to have lost none of their old truculency.

In telling us that Tumbez, Solana and Pariña formed the next province, Pedro Pizarro as much as declares that the Tumbez valley, the upper reaches of the Chira valley and the northwardly coasts of the Bahia de Payta formed a geographical unit. This

must be due to a mistake on his part, for it is impossible to conceive on what basis Pariña and Solana, far removed by deserts from the valley of Tumbez on the North, can be regarded as part of the Tumbez region. It is possible that Pedro lumped them together thus for convenience's sake rather than for any other reason. Tumbez itself lies in a broad and fertile valley, much like all the other coast valleys, save that, in the more sheltered places, it is more intensely tropical than those further south. The people whom the Incas found there were like the tribes of la Puna and Porto Viejo (Manta) in that they lacked completely all personal decency. They were constantly at war with their neighbours, especially with the folk of la Puna. The Inca built among them the small and inconspicuous fort now called la Garita (the outpost), but he does not seem to have found it worth while to erect more pretentious structures in the district, for no remains of such are now to be seen. Candia, it will be remembered from reading Pedro

Pizarro's text and other early accounts, when set ashore at Tumbez in 1527, brought back astounding accounts of what he had seen. In 1532, however, these were found to be mere figments of the Greek soldier's imagination, and Tumbez was seen to be but a poor place.

Under the names of Tangarala, la Chira and Pohechos Pedro Pizarro states that the Chira valley is the next coast province. In pre-Spanish days it was, as it still is, a thickly populated and very productive valley. To the North of it rises the Sierra de Amotape or la Brea, now the site of rich oil-fields; to the South stretches out the great Payta desert. Between the two rolls the broad perennial stream of the Chira, with richly green banks where all manner of fruits and flowers vie in abundance with the fine cotton plants of the valley. Solana, near the upper end of the valley, and not to be confused with Sullana further down, is, like Pohechos or Poechos and la Chira (now Sojo), distinguished by the presence of remains of large

edifices. Unfortunately no stratification of pottery types has yet been established in this region, but a study of those remains which may be seen in private collections, supplemented by inquiries into folklore and history, reveals the probability of the Chira valley having been at least nominally subject to the Chimú before it became vassal to the Inca.

“Piura, Sarrañ Motupe, Cinto and other small valleys as far as Chimo” constitute, according to Pedro Pizarro, the next littoral province. Thus gaily does he leap across the great Payta desert and the still greater desert of Sechura, to say nothing of those immense stretches of sandy desolation further down the coast. Yet there is considerable justification for his haste. It is undoubtedly true that all these fertile and thickly peopled valleys, separated though they were by leagues of desert, were subject to the rule of the Chimú when the Inca conquered them. Archeological evidences of Chimú occupation are plentiful in all of them. It is, then, not

unreasonable of our author to' group them together thus. At the time the Spaniards arrived they had, no doubt, formed a political group under the Incas, just as they very likely had under the Chimu, and so it was only natural that these northern valleys of the old Chimu state should have been regarded as a province by the new invaders. Archeology also proves that the Incas occupied this district intensively.

In like manner Pedro Pizarro groups together the valleys between Chimo (Chimu, now Trujillo in the Chicama-Moche valley), they eleven or twelve in number, the most important being those of Guañape, Santa, Casma and Parmunca (now Paramonga). None of these is named by Pedro Pizarro. The last-mentioned was, in just pre-Inca times, the frontier of the Chimu state toward the South. Here again, it is excusable to link the valleys together into a province, in spite of the natural boundaries which separate them. The Chimu government, and its successor the Inca government, over-

rode these natural delimitations, and erected, no doubt, some sort of administrative delimitation which also ignored them. The great fortress of Parmunca was augmented by the Inca conquerors to its present dimensions, partly as a means of impressing the coast folk, and partly as a means of defense against rebellions.

"Lima, Pachama [*sic*], Chinchá, Yca, Lanasca, as far as Hacari" was the next province, so Pedro informs us. Again, as often before, there is an apparent violation of geographical logic in this classification. But it is only apparent. In earlier times, it is true, these valleys were divided up into different and much smaller political groups; but, when the Inca conquest took place, the chief of Chinchá, as powerful as the Chimú, had welded them into one strong confederation.

South of the Chinchá confederation was a stretch of coast from the valley of Tambo (Tambo de Moro, perhaps, or Islay) down to "Tapaca" (Tarapacá, no doubt). Pizarro says nothing about it. In early times it

had no interesting history, and its people were undeveloped compared with those to the North of them. The Incas moved some Colla mitimacuna into the higher-lying parts of the region.

Turning now to what Pedro Pizarro has to say about the provinces of the interior we find that he is governed by the same considerations as controlled him in speaking of the coast. He makes Quito a province by itself. In 1532 the Incas had not been masters of the region for very long. Before their conquest of it Quito had had a dynasty and an individuality of its own. This last is carefully preserved by the classification of our author.

What is now southern Ecuador was the seat of a powerful and warlike folk called Cañari. This differentiation is also made clear by Pedro Pizarro who, however, throws in the "Tomebambas" (presumably Tomepampas) and the "Cajas" with the Cañaris. Whom he meant to indicate by these names is obscure, but presumably he had in mind

some of the innumerable minor folk-groups of the region.

Caxamalca (Cajamarca), Guamalchuco (Huamachuco), and Guambos were really distinct communities. In pre-Inca times they were links in the long chain of moderately developed mountain societies of which the Inca tribe itself had once been a link.

The same statement may be applied to Guailas (Huayllas), the next province according to Pedro Pizarro, to Taramá (Tarma), Atabillos and Bombon (anciently Pumpu), which form the next province.

Then comes Pedro Pizarro's province of Xauxas Guancas. In this name we see a running-together of the names of the region, Xuaxa (anciently Sausa, now called Jauja), and of the people, Huanca. These people had a peculiar cult of the dog, and they delighted in eating its flesh. They likewise made drums out of dog skulls. These barbarous customs were sternly repressed by the Incas.

Of the following provinces, Soras and Lluc-

anas, Chachapoyas, and Guancá Chupachos, only the second requires special comment. Chachapoyas is here mentioned out of its logical place, for it is much further north than the other provinces just mentioned. At Cuelap and other sites in Chachapoyas there are many strikingly interesting remains of a culture which seems clearly not to be Quechua, but which has elements calling to mind the Chimu or Mochica culture of the coast and the Colla culture of the Titicaca basin. How old these remains are is as yet unknown. When the Incas conquered Chachapoyas (then called Chachapuya) they found it in the hands of a warlike but not highly developed people whom they had considerable difficulty in subduing. It is clear, however, that Pizarro had a right to regard the region in question as a distinct province.

Guamanga (later Huamanga, now Ayacucho) is Pedro's next province. It was anciently held by the fierce Pocras tribe.

The province of Andaguailas, or rather its

inhabitants, the Chancas, is associated with the first long step toward imperial power made by the Incas. It is quite clear that they had not long been resident in the region where Viracocha found them and fought against them. They had a social organization similar to that of the people of Cuzco in early Inca times, and, at the time of their struggle with the growing power of Cuzco, they were divided up into three rival groups each with its own chief.

Parcos de Orejones is the next province in Pedro Pizarro's enumeration. The suffix, "de Orejones" is accounted for by the fact that at some time or other it was settled or garrisoned by Cuzco nobles (orejones).

In stating that the succeeding provinces are "called Vilcas, . . . Avancay, Aporima, Tambo, Xaquixaguana and Cuzco" Pedro Pizarro makes a significant statement, especially when he adds to it "these are nearly all separate". Vilcas is often called Vilcas-huaman. It was an important centre in Inca times, as the great number of remains of

ancient buildings thereabout testifies. Apurima is now called Apurimac. The name signifies "The Mighty Speaker" doubtless in reference to the roar of the torrent through its majestic and narrow chasm. The temple there, described by our author and others, seems to have had some of the functions of an oracle. Tambo, anciently Tampu, and now called Ollantaytambo, was evidently of importance even in Tiahuanaco times, if we may judge by the architectural and other remains that have been found there. It is a narrow valley with a flat and very fertile floor. Here and there one sees a long line of anden or terrace-walls constructed by the subjects of the Inca to aid the agriculturists. Xaquixaguana, now called Zurite or Anta, presents a sharp contrast to the Urubamba valley at Ollantaytambo (into which it drains) for the reason that it is at once loftier and more open. The plain itself is a vast expanse of flat barley- and wheat-fields. Here and there are large bodies of shallow standing water which tend to turn the ground into

a deep and very sticky mire. The gently sloping and rounded hills which rise now and again above the general level are cultivated or otherwise utilized by man to their summits. No steep mountains with unstable talus slopes impinge upon the plain and necessitate a careful system of terracing. It is an admirable place for battles, and has been a battle-ground for centuries. Being likewise a valley of great charm and beauty, it has been a favourite residence of Inca chiefs. Of Cuzco, a plain very like that of Anta, it seems unnecessary to speak here. The inner significance of Pedro Pizarro's remarks about these places is this. In early Inca times these valleys were the seats of comparatively unpretentious tribal communities. Beginning modestly, the Incas conquered them one by one until the beginning of the reign of Rocca II. Individually each of these conquests was small from a point of view of territorial growth. It was then, and ever remained, the Inca policy to preserve the tribal identity of the conquered districts, and so each

of these valleys assumed, under Inca governance, the character of a province, in which character Pedro Pizarro reports them to us.

Concerning the territories to the South of Cuzco Pedro Pizarro is considerably less definite than he is about those to the North. With the exception of making note of the fact that the Pass of Vilcañota, not mentioned here by Pedro Pizarro, was and still is the frontier between the Quechua-speaking and the Colla-speaking mountaineers, it is not necessary to add anything by way of explaining our text.

With considerable fullness he speaks of the four quarters of the empire, that is, of the *suyus*, already referred to above. He tells us explicitly that Chinchá-suyu included "the lands from Cuzco to Quito, which is almost four hundred leagues". Then he says that toward the Northern Ocean (the Atlantic) is the province of the Andes. By that name he wishes to indicate Anti-suyu, the Forest Region of the East. He makes it extend from what is now Eastern Ecuador far down

into what is now Argentina, including in his Anti-suyu a vast range of peoples and tribes about which we at present know very little. He then says: "The third part they called Collasuyu because the Indians of this Collao call themselves Collas". In this remark we have irrefutable proof that the name "Aymará" now generally fixed on these people is apocryphal, and that the term "Colla" should be reinstated in ethnological nomenclature. The Cunti-suyu (our author's Condesuyo) was the least important of the four. It lay to the West and South-west of Cuzco, including the poorer portions of the coast and, later, Chile.

To summarize Inca geographical knowledge as embodied in the *Relación* of Pedro Pizarro it may be said that even when the Inca empire was at its height the formerly separate and independent tribal or political entities which were gradually added to it throughout the period of its growth did not lose their individuality, and that same in-

dividuality was carefully preserved in the form of provinces.

Having now briefly reviewed the status of geography in pre-Spanish days in the Andes, we must pass on to a consideration of the geographical facts relating to the period of the Conquest and to that stretch of time during which Spanish rule was establishing itself throughout the Andean region.

Pedro Pizarro, Cieza de Leon, Pedro Sancho, Gutierrez de Santa Clara, Calvete de Estrella, Garcilaso de la Vega and other early writers supply us with ample material for visualizing the Conquest. Interpreted in geographical terminology it was a series of military and political movements which began on the coast, at San Miguel (Tangarara). At that point the Spaniards had the preponderant portion of the Inca dominions to the South of them, but on the North lay the highland fastnesses of the very important Quito region. The coast and the mountains south of San Miguel alike presented difficulties, the one on account of its

vast deserts, the other on account of the ease with which its rugged passes and peak-encircled plains might have been defended. A less astute man than Francisco Pizarro might have begun his task by moving down the coast, conquering valley after valley as the Incas had done long before. What Pizarro actually did do, however, was much more availing. He led his forces up the Piura valley past Pabur or Pabor, and past Zarran. From the head of the Piura valley he dropped down to Motupe, which is near the coast, and from there he gradually worked inland to Cajamarca. The country through which he passed on this march is not difficult, and no formidable opposition was made to his progress. At Cajamarca he was so fortunate as to capture Atahualpa and, with him, the allegiance of most of the natives. The Spaniards had not as yet left the Pacific watershed. Hernando Pizarro was sent, however, to Pachacamac (January to April, 1533). He crossed over the continental divide. Then he marched southwardly, re-

crossing the divide near Antamarca. After that Hernando Pizarro moved along the western slopes of the Maritime Cordillera, passing up the higher reaches of the Santa River, which he crossed at Pachicoto on January 24, 1533. He reached the coast at Parmunca (now Paramonga) on January 27. Though Chalcuchima, with some 55,000 men, seems to have been hovering about, there seems to have been no great military engagement during all this while, and on February 5, 1533, he and his men arrived safely at Pachacamac. In March and April, 1533, Hernando Pizarro was journeying to rejoin the main body of Spaniards under his brother. The route which he followed led him up the coast to Huara or Huaura not far south of Parmunca, and thence he marched inland to Xauxa. There he had some diplomatic skirmishes with Chalcuchima. From there he marched northwards, rejoining Francisco Pizarro April 25, 1533.

Meanwhile, Sebastián de Benalcázar, who had been left in command at San Miguel,

had undertaken (without authorization) the conquest of the regions to the North. He marched up the Tumbez River and then through the inter-cordilleran highlands of what is now Ecuador, eventually mastering the whole of that part of the Andes, and founding a Spanish settlement at Quito in January (?), 1534.

In September, 1533, the united forces of Francisco and Hernando Pizarro began to march southwards from Cajamarca in the direction of Cuzco. In February a small scouting party had already been sent thither to report on the nature of the country and any hostile activities on the part of its people. On November 15, 1533, after a march which was distinguished by a number of military events, the army of Francisco Pizarro made its entry into Cuzco. Chalcuchima had fought with creditable gallantry, considerable unscrupulousness and complete non-success. He was put to death at Xaquixaguana, not far north of Cuzco.

With the entry into the city of Cuzco, the

Spanish conquest of Ttahuartinsuyu was completed, to all intents and purposes, for the events which followed were not so much conquest as they were repression. The geographical aspects of the Conquest may be summarized by saying that the main line of march lay along the inter-cordilleran valley, both in the Kingdom of Quito and in Peru proper. The significance of this fact is that, had Francisco Pizarro made his route lie along the shore, he would have thrown his flank open to disastrous peril from the forces of Chalcuchima who was at large with a numerous army in the mountains. As it was, Pizarro kept in good marching country with plenty of water supply which could not be interfered with (as that of the coast could have been by breaking down the irrigation ditches). The side-trip made by Hernando Pizarro performed the function of consolidating an important portion of the coast.

After the Conquest proper was thus finished, Pizarro caused various explorations and minor conquests to be made in a number of

directions, and by means of these, especially by means of Almagro's journey in Chile in 1535-1537, the whole country was examined, learned about and brought under Spanish governance.

Among the more important exploring expeditions was that of Francisco de Orellana who, having gone to Quito with Gonzalo Pizarro in 1542, deserted his leader most shamefully and discovered the great river Amazon or Marañon. The faithless man was brave and resourceful, however, and he navigated down the huge river to its mouth. His tales of what he had seen, and still more of what he said he had seen, won for him a royal commission in 1544, and he set forth with a fleet to explore still further. But a due fate overtook him at the last.

At about the same date (about 1542), Alonso de Alvarado and others entered and pacified the great regions of Chachapoyas and Moyobamba. In like manner, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro himself made a number of explorations throughout the coun-

try, and the lieutenants of Almagro, especially Rodrigo Orgoñez and Juan Saavedra, did much to open up the Charcas and the regions of Jujuy and Tucuman to Spanish settlement.

Thus, little by little, the Castilians learned about and conquered the vast South American continent. Many regions remained, and some still remain, unvisited by white men. All sorts of dangers, such as fiercely hostile Indians and soaring altitudes, were met and overcome by an undaunted courage so gallant as almost to palliate their many offenses against justice and their sometimes hideous cruelties. Theirs was a situation of peculiar peril; small numbers of Spaniards were winning a variegated empire of unknown extent, and they could conceive of no other sort of rule than that based upon might. Although we more enlightened folk of today deplore their methods we can not but admire their accomplishments. And many of them, their work done, met a reward fitted to their merits. Jerónimo Roman y Zamora says:

“Thou shalt give them the punishment which they deserve.” He then goes on to discover in the deaths of Atahualpa, Francisco Pizarro, Juan Pizarro and Gonzalo Pizarro the manifestation of the will of God. Who knows but what the good old friar was a wiser philosopher than more sophisticated men have been?

Some interesting information as to the progress of geographical knowledge in the Andes after the Conquest may be got from an examination of old maps. This is not the place for a detailed and exhaustive cartographical essay, however, so only a few of the more important points will be touched upon.

At the outset it is well to note the political aspects of the science of cartography as regards the colonies of Spain in America. The Casa de Contratación had, among many other officers, a pilot major and a cosmographer. These offices were filled by widely proclaimed competitive examinations. A standard map, the *padrón real*, was made by

the officials mentioned, and once a year it was brought up to date in accordance with the latest information received from navigators and others. Many distinguished men, such as S. Cabotto, A. de Santa Cruz and Diego de Ribero, contributed to the *padrón*. Nevertheless, many authors of maps failed to make them conform to the *padrón*. In 1535 a new one was made, and sailing-charts, general maps and globes were issued by private persons on the condition that they be corrected in accordance with the *padrón*.

Maps and map-making, then, had a definitely recognized place in the governmental system erected in America by Spain. It is to be supposed that many of the maps which we now have were compared with the *padrón*, which was kept at Seville.

The West Coast of South America appears on a map made by the Vesconde de Maggiolo about 1527. The original of the map is in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan. The Andean region is called "Terra Incognita". The shore is not accurately portrayed.

In 1529 Diego Ribero made his map of the world at Seville. The original is now in the Museum of the Propaganda at Rome. South America is called "MVNDVS NOVVS". The outline is very good, although the West Coast is incomplete. The name "Perv" appears.

Information did not greatly increase until 1533. In that year Johann Schöner issued a globe on which the West Coast is outlined with fair accuracy. Knowledge was still chaotic, however, as is evidenced by the inscription: "America, Indiae superioris et Asiae continentis pars".

The year 1535 may be looked upon as the earliest which gives us true cartographical information about Peru and its neighbouring regions. In that year, or possibly as early as 1533 (though I very much doubt it), a Spanish map was made which is now known as the Wolfenbüttel-Spanish map. Up to 1914 it was in the Herzogliche Bibliothek at Wolfenbüttel in Germany. According to Dr. E. L. Stevenson this map is dated 1525-1530,

which is obviously a number of years too early, for on the map we find among other details “Salinas de lacibdad de tumbez” [sic], “R. deS. migel” [sic], and “p. y prouincia delacibdad de rhinrhax” [sic]. This last item, which is an attempt at “puerto y provincia de la ciudad de Rimac”, suggests that 1535 is the earliest possible date, for Lima or Rimac did not come into being until that year.

In the same year, 1535, Johann Schöner made what is now known as the Paris Wooden Globe on which “S. michaelis” (San Miguel) appears between seven and ten degrees south. The outline of both the maps just referred to is fair.

About 1536 Battista or Baptista Agnese made a map of North and South America. The original is now in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan. It is a map which must have been effected by Pizarro’s discoveries and deeds, although HARRISSE says that Pizarro’s second trip can not have had anything to do with it. However, the nomenclature, in-

cluding "p. de S. tago" (Guayaquil) and "rio d. S. miquell", indicates that the results of his third and final trip (1531) were incorporated. The outline of South America is fairly correct, but the West Coast stops half way between the Equator and the Tropic of Capricorn. The legend "La provintia de Perv" appears.

The Atlas of Charles V (1539) likewise has "Perv provintia". Beginning with the map of the world made by Alonzo de Santa Cruz, the royal cosmographer, in 1542, we begin to get more detail. On this map we discover "y. delgallo", "R. de S. tiago", "R. de tumbes", "S. miguel", "puerto de paita", "palmōga" (Paramonga), "pachacara" (Pachacamac), and "chinchā". All are more or less accurately located. The outline is fairly correct.

Sebastiano Cabotto's map of America, made in 1544 and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, shows the West Coast with notably good outline. Inland we find written "Tito prouincia" and "Peru prouincia". On the

coast are “rio de Tumbez”, “S. migel”, “payta”, “La cyudad delosreyes”, and “rio de ariquipa”. Inland is “Ecusco”.

From 1544 onward to 1554 there are a number of maps all having fairly good outlines and a considerable number of place-names. These last are usually located about correctly, but the mis-spellings are innumerable and amusing. One point must be noted. On the map of “Le Perov” given by Pierre Descliers in his Atlas printed at Arques (the original being in the British Museum) in 1550 “pachacama” is located correctly just south of “Lima les c. des Roys”, but it appears again about where Cuzco should be, and S.W. of it, where Arequipa should be, is seen the towered city of “Caxamalco”. This mistake was preserved in future maps, doubtless as a result of the conservative influence of the *padrón*.

The Amazon appears, but is not named, upon Gastaldi’s map of the world published at Venice in 1554, the original being in the Biblioteca municipal at Turin. This map

has much detail which lack of space forbids me to specify here.

Diogo [*sic*] Homen published at Antwerp in 1559 a very good map of "Peru", with much detail and many place-names correctly located. Lake Titicaca, not named, however, is correctly placed. The outline is good. On the coast we find "guaiaquil" (on south bank of the river), "R. chira", with "S. migel" on its south bank; "paita", "pacasmaio", "tragillo" [*sic*], "Lima ciudad de los Reis", "pachacama" and "Arequipa" are all admirably located. It is a good map.

With the map of the world, in hemispheres, by Joan Martines, Messina, 1562, we come to the beginning of a very strange cartographical error which, in a certain group of maps, perpetuated itself for a long time. This map is fairly correct in outline save for the fact that the West Coast has, at the Tropic of Capricorn, an extraordinary west-jutting peninsula of great size.

This error was reiterated and made worse by Gerardus Mercator in his map of the

world, published at Duisburg in 1569. He has not only the Capricorn peninsula of Martines, but another much like it to the North. Abraham Ortelius in his Atlas, published at Antwerp, 1570, has just the same error, and it continues to present itself in the Mercator-Ortelius group of maps up to 1587 when Ortelius corrected himself. He was responsible for another serious error, namely the calling into being of a river which has the general form of the Piura river, but which rises at twelve and one half degrees south, at which point we see "Caxamalca", and flows north to five degrees south where we see "S. Miguel". This error lasted on in the Mercator-Ortelius group up to 1589.

The map of Paulo di Forlani da Verona, published probably at Venice about 1570 and reproduced by A. Lafréry about 1575, is well known. Copies of it are to be found in the Library of Congress and elsewhere. It is called "LA. DESCRITTIONE. DI. TVTTO. IL. PERV". On the whole it is a good map. The outline has no trace of the

influence of the Mercator-Ortelius group. Some of the place-names are badly located, the tendency being to put them too far south. "Lago Titicacha" is in the middle of the continent, at twenty-four to twenty-nine degrees south. "Lago Tichicasa" is the name given to Lake Aullagas; it is east of southern end of the big lake.

Cartography continued to make gradual progress throughout the remainder of the sixteenth century. In 1605 we may say that modern cartography really begins, for the world map by Willem Janszoon Blaeu made in that year in Holland (Amsterdam) differs only slightly from modern maps.

As a general thing we may say in summing up that geographical features near the shore of the continent became embodied in the maps earlier than those inland. Thus it is that such elements as Lake Titicaca were comparatively late in being so reported.<sup>34</sup>

*The Life of Pedro Pizarro* .

Our author was born in Toledo about 1515. He was of good family, according to his own report, at least. His father was a brother of Gonzalo Pizarro the elder, and, consequently, Pedro was a first cousin of the Marquis Francisco Pizarro, and of the Hernando, Gonzalo and Juan Pizarros of the conquest.

When, in 1530, Marquis Francisco Pizarro went back to America after his prolonged sojourn at Court, young Pedro went with him as a page. He was intimately associated with all the chief events of the Conquest of Peru. From about the year 1533 onward, or about the time Cuzco, the ancient Inca capital, was reduced to Spanish rule, Pedro Pizarro was in active military service as a cavalryman. If we may accept his own report, written always in the third person, and by no means unduly boastful, he was a valiant soldier who took part in some of the most exciting and important military engagements of the day, most of them directly concerned with the war be-

tween Manco Inca and the Spaniards (1535-1536). Soon after this the city of Jauja claimed him as a citizen. Very soon afterward, however, he moved his residence to Cuzco. So young and energetic a man was not, however, induced to lead a sedentary life in such stirring days, and we find Pedro Pizarro one of the participants in the battle of las Salinas (26 April, 1538). But when, on August 15, 1539 or 1540, Arequipa was founded, he established himself there. In 1541 he was in Lima at the time of the Almagrist outbreak, and after the battle of Chupas (16 September, 1542) at which he was present, in the camp of C. Vaca de Castro, he was approached by his cousin, Gonzalo Pizarro, with all manner of tempting and flattering inducements to join the rebellion against the Crown which the latter was planning. He never did so, however, and he earned the enmity of Gonzalo Pizarro for his resistance. His loyalty to the Crown was, however, sullied by a rather cringing letter which he wrote to his cousin on 18 December, 1546,

and which fell into the hands of President de la Gasca. The letter, perhaps, is not much more than an evidence of vacillation, probably prompted by quite material considerations, for our author is never backward about claiming what he thinks to be his due. It was seized upon by de la Gasca, however, as an excuse for denying to Pedro Pizarro the rewards he claimed after the battle of Xaquixaguana (9 April, 1548).

Pedro Pizarro, for all he was never quite contented with his lot, might fairly have counted himself a rich and a well-rewarded man. On 28 November, 1538, Marquis Francisco Pizarro, his cousin, granted to him ample lands, together with curacas and Indian labourers, at Tacana (now Tacna), at Arequipa and elsewhere. Further grants, considerable in value, were made to him from time to time by various authorities.

In addition to having a natural daughter, Isabel Pizarro, born while he was very young, Pedro Pizarro had numerous legitimate children. His first wife was Maria Cornejo,

daughter of Miguel Cornejo, and a native of Arequipa, of which city her father was a founder. Their son, Martin Pizarro y Cornejo, was twice married, and his son, Francisco Pizarro y Casillas, founded an important family at Tacna which has lasted into our own day. Isabel Pizarro married a merchant of Potosí, named Miguel de Entrambasaguas; their descendants may still be found in the old mining metropolis of Upper Peru. Nothing is known about the second wife of Pedro Pizarro.

Neither do we know the date of our author's death, save that it was posterior to February 7, 1571, the day on which, at Arequipa, he concluded his *Relación*. He may have lived till 1602.

Though the literary style of Pedro Pizarro is anything but a model of clarity and precision, he wrote with a transparent sincerity and an evident desire to tell the truth. This quality, taken in conjunction with his unsurpassed opportunities for observation, makes

him one of the chief sources for data about the Conquest of Peru by the Spaniards.

NOTE.—This brief biography is based upon that of Carlos A. Romero. In Sr. Romero's biography will be found the letter to Gonzalo Pizarro here referred to. Sr. Romero states that, in 1602, the Viceroy Luis de Velasco, Marquis of las Salinas, made a grant to Pedro Pizarro. This, however, may have been a son of our author.

See:

PIZARRO, Pedro:

1917. Descubrimiento y Conquista del Peru. Introduction and Notes by Carlos A. Romero. Lima.

### *The Bibliographical Position of Pedro Pizarro*

In estimating the importance of our author we must not fail to take into consideration his chronological and bibliographical relations to other authors. In dealing with the history of a land which was the seat of a remarkable native civilization, but which never had a written history until it was invaded by an alien people and veneered with an alien civilization, we must of necessity value most those written authorities which are at once earliest and most closely associated by personal con-

tact with the aboriginal civilization as it was in its unmolested state.

For the modern investigator of Andean history, then, it is well to divide up the various early writers into chronological groups or "schools". The first group will be that included between the perhaps arbitrarily selected dates 1530 and 1550. The second group lived and worked between 1550 and 1600. Finally, the third group of old writers came between 1600 and 1650. After that there is a hiatus of eighty years until, in 1732, Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo ushered in the modern period with his epic and well-documented historic poem "Lima fundada". This was followed in due course by the writings of Jorge Juan y Santacilia and Antonio de Ulloa (about 1748) and Tadeo Haenke (in the 1790's). Then the brilliant "Amantes del Pais" with their "Mercurio Peruano" began the more recent series of works dealing with the Andean countries and their history.

Pedro Pizarro ranks high in the first of these groups. He is an author of prime importance

for the history of the people of the Andes and of the events in connection with their conquest by Spain. It is true that others of the old writers are fully as important as Pedro Pizarro, and it is likewise true that they are not all in the first group. But in all cases of this sort it can be shown that the writer in question has received direct information from times contemporary with the Conquest, in which our author took an active part.

The leading men of the first group were as follows:

SÁAMANOS, Juan de: *Relacion de los primeros descubrimientos de Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro, sacada del código numero CXX de la Biblioteca Imperial de Viena.* This report was written by the secretary of Carlos V, in 1526. It contains the first account of the discoveries along the northwestern coast of South America as far as the present Ecuadorian territory. It was first published by Navarette in Vol. V, of the *Col. de Doc. Inéd. para la Hist. de España*, Madrid, 1844. Re-

printed by Saville, in *Antiq. of Manabi*, Vol. II, New York, 1910.

AGUSTINOS, *Relacion de la Religion y Ritos del Peru, Hecha por los Primeros Religiosos Agustinos que alli Pasaron Para la Conversion de los Naturales*. This work was compiled about 1550. It contains much material not given elsewhere. It was in Vol. LXXXVII of the Munoz collection. It may be found in the *Coleccion de documentos ineditos del archivo de Indias*, III, pages 5-58. Madrid, 1865.

ANDAGOYA, Pascual de: Born about 1495. In 1514 he went to America. In 1522 he made a voyage down the Pacific coast to some point in what is now Colombian territory. He then received the first really definite information about the Inca empire. He later became associated with F. Pizarro. Still later he was Adelantado at Popayan. He quarrelled with Benálcazar and returned to Spain. In 1546, however, he went back to Peru with Gasca, and he died in Cuzco in 1548. His work of historic importance is:

1540. *Relación de los sucesos de Pedrarias Dávila en las provincias de tierra firme o Castilla del oro, y de lo ocurrido en el descubrimiento de la mar del sur y costas del Perú y Nicaragua*.

Ms. in archives at Seville.

For modern editions, see Bibliography.

**BENZONI, Girolamo:** Born about 1520. He travelled in Spain's American possessions for some years between 1540 and 1556. The date of his death is not known. His work is superficial and full of gossip, but he gives much information which corroborates las Casas and other writers. He was an Italian. The illustrations in his work are, in some cases, of value as showing technological methods.

1565. *La Historia del Mondo Nuovo*. Venice.

**BETANZOS, Juan (or José) de:** Born about 1500. He was a soldier who took part in the Conquest of Peru, marrying a daughter of the Inca Atahualpa about that period. About 1551 he finished his work on the Incas. Eventually he settled down at Cuzco. Probably his death occurred after 1560. The Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza was his patron. At the Viceroy's instance Betanzos wrote:

1551 (about). *Suma y Narración de los Incas*. Ms. is at Madrid. This work was first men-

tioned, in 1729, by Gregorio Garcia in his *Origen de los Indios de el Nuevo Mundo*, published at Madrid.

For modern edition, see Bibliography.

**BORDONE, Benedetto:** Flourished 1528–1535. Nothing is known about him, save that he was something of a geographer. Winsor states that he died in 1531.

1528. *Libro di Benedetto Bordone nel qual si ragiona di tutte l'Isole del Mondo con li lor nomi antichi & moderni.* . . Venice.

1534. *Isolario di Benedetto Bordone nel qual si ragiona di tutte l'Isole del Mondo con li lor nomi antichi & moderni.* . . Venice.

NOTE.—In this edition appears for the first time the letter of a Prefect of New Spain to Charles V in which many anecdotes of the Conquest are related.

Consult:

WINSOR, Justin:

1889. *A Narrative and Critical History of America.* Boston. 8 volumes. VIII, page 382.

BANCROFT, Hubert Howe:

1882–1883. *History of Central America.* San Francisco. 2 volumes. I, page 144.

**CALVETE DE ESTRELLA, Juan Cristóbal de:** Born about 1520. In 1542 he was in close at-

tendance upon Prince Philip, later Philip II of Spain. He undoubtedly had at his disposal first-hand information about events in Peru during the period of the Conquest. He died about 1565, or some time after that date.

1565–1567. *Rebelión de Pizarro en el Perú.*

Ms. in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

For modern edition, see Bibliography.

CASAS, Bartolomé de las: Born in 1474. His father, Pedro or Francisco de las Casas, knew Columbus well and went to America with him in 1496. Bartolomé de las Casas himself went to Hispaniola in 1502. He travelled extensively in America during the ensuing years. For us it is important to note that he is said to have visited Peru in 1532, on the business of the Church. Indubitably he made enquiries into the history of the indigenes of the Peruvian region. In 1544 he was made Bishop of Chiapa, deliberately choosing a poor and laborious diocese. His personal character was of the saintliest description even though his zeal in freeing the American natives from bondage led him to

favour the importation of Negroes as slaves, a practice of ancient date in the American colonies. Las Casas died in Spain in 1566. His works were many, those of importance to us being:

1540 (?). *De las Antiguas Gentes del Perú.*

This work was begun at about the date indicated. It probably originally formed a part of one of his numerous books.

For modern edition, see Bibliography.

1552. *Brevissima Relacion de la Destruycion de las Indias.* Seville.

For modern edition, see Bibliography.

NOTE.—As an historian of the pre-Spanish period of Peru, las Casas holds a high position, for the reason that he got his information almost wholly at first hand. Antedating Blas Valera as he does, it is important to note that he distinctly mentions pre-Inca dynasties and civilizations.

Consult:

MACNUTT, Francis A.:

1909. *Bartholomew de las Casas.* New York.

CIEZA DE LEON, Pedro de: Born in 1519. He travelled in western South America 1534–1550. He was an eminently honourable, truthful and observing man. Any statement

made by him commands special consideration. He wrote most of his great works in America. He conducted careful enquiries into the history of Peru while at Cuzco and elsewhere. He died at Seville in 1560. Old editions of his works are:

1553. Parte Primera de la Chronica del Peru. Seville.

1554. Parte Primera de la Chronica del Peru. Antwerp.

NOTE.—The remainder of Cieza's work remained inedited until recent times when Marcos Jimenez de la Espada, Sir Clements R. Markham, and Manuel Gonzalez de la Rosa have brought out important parts of it. Some parts, however, are yet undiscovered. See Bibliography.

ENRIQUEZ DE GUZMAN, Alonzo: Born about 1500. He was a courtly and very amusing young adventurer with the bluest blood in Spain in his veins, an immense fund of conceitedness, and no money save what court favour procured for him. He was in Peru from 1535 to the time of the death of Almagro the elder in 1538. He had an important part in the events of that period. With the exception of our author and possibly of Pedro

Sancho, he was the only writer actually to see the occurrences of that day. He is mentioned by our author, and also by Garcilasso de la Vega (in his *Segunda Parte*, lib ii, Cap. 24). He was present at the interview between Pizarro and Almagro at Mala (13 November, 1537). He was a partisan of Almagro. His death took place about 1547. His frivolous and self-centred, but nevertheless charming, character prevented his work from being as full and valuable as he might have made it. There is no old edition of it.

For modern edition of *The Life and Acts of Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman*, see Bibliography.

Consult:

PIZARRO Y ORELLANA, Fernando de:

1639. *Varones Ilvstres del Nvevo Mvndo*. Madrid. Pages 178 and 325.

GASCA, Pedro de la: Born about 1520. He was of very noble families on both sides. According to modern usage his name would be Pedro Jimenez de Avila y de la Gasca, but for some reason he preferred to use only his mother's patronymic. The Emperor

Charles V sent him in 1546 to Péru, with the simple title of President of the Audience, but charged with powers and authority equal to those which the Emperor himself would have held. He wrote many letters to the Emperor to describe the course of events in Peru. He returned to Spain in 1550. He died about 1557.

1547-1549. Letters and Reports, written to various authorities, both in Spain and in America.

For modern editions of these letters, see Bibliography.

Consult:

SAVILLE, Marshall H.:

1917. Some Unpublished Letters of Pedro de la Gasca Relating to the Conquest of Peru. AASP, xxvii, pages 336-357.

GUTIERREZ DE SANTA CLARA, Pedro: Born about 1520, probably in the viceroyalty of Mexico. It is not impossible that his father was Bernaldino or Bernardino de Santa Clara. One Cristóbal Gutierrez de Santa Clara was an uncle of his. Both of these men were in the army which conquered Mexico for Spain. Perhaps the mother of Pedro Gutierrez was a

Mexican. He received a fair education. In 1544 he was in Peru where he took part in the Civil Wars (1544-1548) on the side of President Gasca. It is not known at what date he wrote his history, nor is the date of his return to Mexico known, save that it was prior to 1590. He was still alive in 1603. There is a singular lack of information about him, considering his importance.

1565 (?). *Quinquenarios*. This work is now known under the name *Historia de las Guerras Civiles del Peru*. The Ms. is in the Biblioteca Provincial de Toledo (Spain).

For modern edition, see Bibliography. The remarks made here are based upon the Prologo by Manuel Serrano y Sanz.

MOLINA, Cristóval de: Born about 1515. He was in Lima in 1539, and for many years after that he was chaplain in the hospital for natives at Cuzco. He was on terms of cordial friendship with all classes of the natives, and he knew their language, Quechua. He died about 1590. He is not to be confused with the Molina who lived in Chile at this time and wrote about the Indians.

1570-1584. Molina writing during this period. His work remained in Ms. (in Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid) until recent times.

For modern edition, see Bibliography.

ONDEGARDO, Polo de: Born about 1500. Very little is known about his life. He was with the army of Gasca in the war against Gonzalo Pizarro (ca. 1547-1550), and at a later date (ca. 1560) he was Corregidor of Cuzco. He was a lawyer attached to the train of Viceroy Toledo. Unlike his superior he seems not to have lacked sympathetic interest in the natives. His knowledge of their language, however, was slight, and it is likely that his statements are often doubtful as to accuracy, particularly those relating to human sacrifices which he declares to have been frequent. He died at Potosí about 1580.

There are no old editions of Polo de Ondegardo's work. For modern ones, see Bibliography. His two *Relaciones* were written in 1561 and 1570, both being based on material collected considerably before that. Dorsey (1892, page 168) states that the Mss. of these are in the Escorial. Markham (1910, page 7) says that there is a Report by the subject in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid.

OVIEDO Y VALDES, Gonzalo Fernandez de:  
Born about 1478. He was at Panama at the time when Pizarro and Almagro were fitting out their first expedition southwards. Subsequently he became Chronicler of the Indies. Bartolomé de las Casas was a powerful enemy of his, and it is possible that his influence caused the suppression of the second part of Oviedo's great history, which exists only in a modern edition. He travelled somewhat in America, and, while in Spain, he had access to all sorts of information of an official character. He died in 1557. Old editions of his works are:

1526. Oviedo de la Natural Hystoria de las Indias. Toledo.

1535. La Historia General de las Indias. Seville.

Consult:

LOPEZ, DE GOMARA, Francisco:

1912. The Annals of the Emperor Charles V. Ed. by Roger Bigelow Merriman. Oxford. Pages 101 and 139-140.

NOTE.—The evidence of Lopez de Gomara shows that the second part of Oviedo's work would have come out about 1549 had it not been for las Casas' interference.

PIZARRO, Marquis Francisco: See BORDONE, Benedetto.

PIZARRO, Hernando: Born about 1505. He was the only legitimate brother of the Marquis Francisco Pizarro, Conqueror of Peru. He went to Peru in 1531. In 1533 he made an important excursion to Pachacamac upon which he reported in a letter, dated November of that year. He took an important part in the Conquest. On his return to Spain in 1539 he was imprisoned, and he remained so for twenty years. It is to be hoped that his cruelties were part-cause of his condemnation. In 1560 he married his niece, Francisca Pizarro Inca, natural daughter of Francisco Pizarro by his Inca mistress, daughter to the Inca Atahualpa. The date of his death is not known, exactly.

1533. Carta de Hernando Pizarro. In Oviedo y Valdes, Tercera Parte. (This is in Ms. only.)

For modern editions, see Bibliography.

PIZARRO, Pedro: Born in 1515. Came to Peru as page to his cousin, Marquis Francisco

Pizarro, in 1531. Died, probably in Arequipa, sometime after 1571 and possibly as late as 1602. See Life, pages 79–83 of this volume.

The *Relación* of Pedro Pizarro, completed in 1571, is based upon his personal observations from 1531 to 1555. Only modern editions of it are known. (See Bibliography.)

In the catalog, *Bibliotheca Phillipica*, of the sale of a portion of the library of Sir Thomas Phillips, sold by Sotherby, Wilkinson and Hodge, in London, June, 1919, item No. 389, is a manuscript entitled, "Pizarro, *Relacion del Descubrimiento y Conquista de los Reynos del Peru, escrita por Pedro Pizarro, uno de los Conquistadores y Pobladores de aquellos Reynos, año de 1571, half calf; 292 pp. folio.*"

In the same catalog, item lot 264, a volume containing papers relating to "Las Indias" in the 16th and 17th centuries, is the following: "(9) *Relacion Verdadera de la Tierra que Descubrimos con el Gobernador Franco Pizarro deste Reyno del Peru desde que llegamos a Panama, original, signed by Diego Truxillo, 1571.*"

SANCHO, Pedro: Born about 1510. Nothing is now known about his life save that he was a gentleman and that he witnessed the

events of the Conquest from 1531 to July 15, 1534. He returned to Spain, having served as scrivener to Pizarro's army, in 1536. There he married a lady of high position.

1534. *Relacion de la Conquista del Peru*. (Not published.)

For modern editions, see Bibliography.

Consult the Biography by Carlos A. Romero, in that student's edition of the *Relacion*. (Lima, 1917.)

ZÁRATE, Agustín de: Born about 1520. He went to Peru with Blasco Nuñez Vela in 1543. He did not know the native languages, and his work is not of the first importance, although it contains some valuable descriptions of roads, sites and customs. He left Peru before 1554.

1555. *Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista del Perú*. Antwerp.

For modern editions, see Bibliography.

XERES, Francisco de: Born about 1505. He went to Peru with Pizarro in 1531. He was with Hernando Pizarro during the latter's trip to Pachacamac in 1533, and he describes it. He returned to Spain in 1534.

1534. *Verdadera Relacion de la Conquista del Peru*. Seville.

1535. *Libro Primo de la Conquista del Peru*. Milan.

1547. *Verdadera Relacion de la Conquista del Peru*. Salamanca.

For modern editions, see Bibliography.

Of the second chronological group, composed of men whose information was got between the years 1550 and 1600, the following are the most important.

ACOSTA, Joseph (or José) de: Born at Medina del Campo, Spain, about 1540. At the age of thirteen he became a novice in the Society of Jesus. In 1571 he went to Peru where, like a number of writers of this group, he was closely associated with the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo. He remained in Peru for fifteen years, and he made a journey in Mexico and in the West Indies. His erudition was great, but he seems to have been deficient in the native languages. He used much manuscript material and, after his return to Spain, had the advantage of royal favour. He died in Spain about 1600.

1588-1589. *De Natura Novi Orbis Libri Duo, et de Promulgatione Evangelii Apud Barbaros.* . . Salamanca.

1590. *Historia Natvral y Moral de las Indias.* . . Seville.

NOTE.—This last-mentioned work is especially useful for a study of the religion of aboriginal Peru.

For modern editions, see Bibliography.

FERNANDEZ DE PALENCIA, Diego: Born at Palencia, Spain, about 1530. He is often called "el Palentino". He was in the army which successfully opposed the rebellion of Hernandez Giron in 1554, and he was appointed historian to Andres Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, Viceroy of Peru from 1556 to 1561. This was a time of much interest in Indian affairs on account of the efforts made by Hurtado de Mendoza to reduce Sayri Tupac, son of Manco Inca, to obedience.

1571. *Primera y Segunda Parte de la Historia del Peru.* Seville.

For modern edition, see Bibliography.

GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, el Ynca: Born at Cuzco in 1539 or 1540. His parents were

Princess Isabel Yupanqui, niece of Huayna Capac, and Don Garcia Lasso de la Vega de Vargas y Sotomayor Suarez de Figueroa. The young mestizo took as his name the first part of his father's, modifying it somewhat. On both sides his ancestry was exceedingly aristocratic. All during his childhood his mother's relatives came to visit her, and from them he absorbed much information about the past history of Peru. In 1560 he went to Spain, having received an excellent education at Cuzco. After a short military career, he took up a literary one and, making his home in Córdoba, he began his great Commentaries about 1590. He died in humble circumstances about 1617. He is a prime authority on ancient Peru, having received many sorts of information over a long stretch of years.

1609. *Primera Parte de los Comentarios Reales*. . . Lisbon.

1617. *Historia del Peru (Segunda parte)*. Cordoba.

For modern editions, see Bibliography.

HERRERA Y TORDESILLAS, Antonio de: Born in 1549. Philip II made him historian of the Indies. He did not travel in America, and he depended for his information upon sources available in Spain. He can not be said to be of the first importance so far as the history of the Andes is concerned. He died in 1625.

1601-1615. *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas I Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano*. Madrid. 5 volumes.

For modern editions, see Bibliography.

MATIENZO, Juan de: Nothing is known about this man save that he was a learned judge who was associated with Viceroy Toledo (1569-1581). He was a just man, and in his recommendations concerning governmental matters he faithfully bore in mind the good points of the native institutions. He is a prime authority for the earlier phases of colonial government.

1581(?). *Gobierno del Peru*. Ms. in the British Museum.

For modern edition, see Bibliography.

ROMÁN Y ZAMORA, Jerónimo: Born in Spain about 1539. He was an Augustinian monk. He never came to America so far as we know. Nevertheless, because he was well read and intelligent, he preserved many interesting points regarding the aboriginal peoples. But he can not be said to be an historian of the first importance. He died at Medina del Campo in 1597.

1575. *Republicas del Mundo*. Medina del Campo. 2 volumes.

1595. *Republicas del Mundo*. Salamanca. 3 volumes.

NOTE.—The earlier of these two editions is very rare. It was mutilated and censored by the Holy Inquisition. The second edition was corrected and expurgated by the Holy Inquisition. Probably the first is the better.

For modern edition, see Bibliography.

SANTILLÁN, Fernando de: Born about 1520. In 1550 he became a Judge of the Royal Audience at Lima. He was a priest. Like Matienzo, he had a lively interest in Inca government, and he protested against Spanish governmental methods as much as he

dared. He throws much light upon the matter of tribute.

1555 (?). *Relacion . . . del Gobierno de los Incas*. Ms. in the Escorial.

For modern edition, see Bibliography.

**SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA, Pedro:** Born about 1530. He was a navigator and a cosmographer of note. In 1567 he made an important trip to the South Sea Islands said to have been visited by the Inca Tupac Yupanqui. (Possibly, though hardly probably, these were the Galapagos or the Juan Fernandez Islands.) Later, Sarmiento was associated with the Viceroy Toledo, for whom he wrote his *History of the Incas*. Although this work contains much precious material, it is greatly marred, and, in some places, made valueless by the extremely violent partisanship of its writer who, at the behest of Toledo, did all that he could to blacken the character of the Incas. Sarmiento was captured by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1586 and taken to England.

1572. *Segunda Parte de la Historia Llamada*

Indica. Ms. in the library of Gottingen University. (Now known as History of the Incas.)

For modern editions, see Bibliography.

VALERA, Blas: Born about 1551. Like Garcilaso de la Vega, he was a mestizo, son of a Spanish gentleman and an Inca lady. He was born at Chachapoyas, and later on he lived at Trujillo. About 1571 he went to Cuzco as a catechist, having previously become a Jesuit. He lived there for some ten years, and then he moved to the important Jesuit house at Juli on the northern end of Lake Titicaca. He also visited such remote places as La Paz and Quito. His education was good, and he knew both Latin and Quechua in addition to Spanish. He always made it a point to glean all the information he could from informed Indians and other persons, and he has long been admitted to be the authority par excellence for pre-Conquest Andean history. His writings, however, have undergone misfortunes. In 1594 he went to Spain where his History of Peru, in Latin, became a most important source of informa-

tion to Garcilaso. The work was then lost during a siege of Cadiz by Essex. All that we have are the fragments preserved, always with due acknowledgments, by Garcilaso. His "De los Indios del Peru", however, is still extant, having been published in anonymity by Jimenez de la Espada and identified as Valera's by Gonzalez de la Rosa. A third work, the "Vocabulario histórico del Perú", was last heard of at La Paz where it was seen by a later writer, Oliva. It is substantially reproduced, however, by Fernando Montesinos. Most of our information as to pre-Inca Peru comes either from Valera or from his close follower (not to say plagiarizer) Montesinos. He is now and then borne out by other writers, notably by las Casas.

For a discussion of the whole complicated matter of Blas Valera, consult the various writings of Markham, Riva-Aguero, Gonzalez de la Rosa, Jimenez de la Espada, and P. A. Means.

See especially:

RIVA-AGUERO, José de la:

1910. *La Historia en el Peru*. Lima. Pages 11-218.

We must now take up the third and last group of the early writers on Andean history. The chief figures in it are these:

ACUÑA, Christóval de: Hardly anything is known of this man beyond the bare facts that he was the leader of an expedition down the Amazon about which valley he wrote. This trip took place about 1639, and it resulted in greatly increasing the limited fund of information about the river regions. The statement that Acuña was at one time Bishop of Caracas is not, probably, correct, for his name is not given in the list of Bishops of Caracas presented by Antonio de Alcedo. Acuña's work, however, is useful.

1641. *Nuevo Descubrimiento del Gran Rio de las Amazonas*. Madrid.

For modern edition, see Bibliography.

The list of bishops referred to will be found in:

ALCEDO, Antonio de:

1812-1815. *The Geographical and Historical Dictionary of America and the West Indies*. . . Ed. by G. A. Thompson. London. 5 volumes. 1, pages 296-299.

ARRIAGA, Pablo Joseph (or José) de: This

writer was a Jesuit who was sent into the remote and solitary province of Huarochiri in the mountains east of Lima to extirpate the idolatry which still flourished there. In the execution of his duties he learned a vast amount of things relating to the primitive faith of the Yauyos, the people of that district. All that he learned is embodied in his book, which is one of the prime sources for information about religion and kindred matters in the Andes.

1621. *Extirpacion de la Idolatria del Piru.*  
Lima.

For modern edition, see Bibliography.

AVENDAÑO, Fernando or Hernando de: A priest who, like Arriaga, made a study of the native religion. He knew Quechua and was in the habit of composing sermons in that language.

1617. *Relacion Acerca de la Idolatria de los Indios del Arzobispado de Lima.*

Ms. in Archivo de Indias, Seville.

1648. *Sermones. . . En Lengua Castellana y General del Inca.* Lima.

NOTE.—These works are of excessive rarity. A copy of the later one is in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, Rhode Island. There is no modern edition that I know of. The work is one which I have not seen personally.

AVILA, Francisco de: Another priest who sought to stamp out the vigorous vestiges of the old paganism and, so doing, described it fully. He worked in Huarochiri.

1646–1648. *Tratado de los Evangelios . . . de los Indios Deste Reyno del Peru. . .* Lima. 2 volumes.

For modern edition, see Bibliography.

COBO, Bernabé: Born in Spain in 1582. His father died in 1594 or 1596, and young Cobo came to America in the latter year. After extensive wanderings in Colombia and other northern parts of South America, he arrived in Lima in February, 1599. He soon entered the Jesuit College of San Martin, and in 1608 or thereabout he became a Jesuit himself. He remained in Lima till 1615. It is interesting to note that he was by no means brilliant at his studies. In 1615 he was sent to the Jesuit house at Juli, near Lake Titi-

caca. From 1616 to 1618 he was travelling widely in Upper Peru (now Bolivia). From 1618 to 1629 he was moving about in southern Peru, returning to Lima in the latter year. From about 1630 to about 1650 he was travelling in New Spain and elsewhere. From 1650 to 1653 he was living again at Lima. He died there on October 9, 1657. His extensive journeys, his real intelligence, his knowledge of the people, and his great information based upon earlier writings, both published and unpublished, make Cobo an authority of the very highest rank, even though he did flourish more than a century after the Conquest.

1639. *Historia de la Fundacion de Lima*. Mexico (?).

1653. *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*. Lima (?).

NOTE.—I have not seen copies of either of these early editions, nor do I know certainly as to the place of their issuance. The dates, however, are fairly correct. All the information given about Cobo here is derived from the preface to the modern edition of the *Fundación de Lima*, edited by Gonzalez de la Rosa.

For modern editions, see Bibliography.

MONTESINOS, Fernando: This man came to Peru in 1629 in the same ship with Luis Jerónimo de Cabrera, Count of Chinchón and Viceroy of Peru, 1629–1639. Montesinos was probably secretary to the Viceroy. Although a man totally devoid of critical acumen, and although gullible and superstitious into the bargain, Montesinos yet availed himself most lavishly of earlier and more authoritative writings. Chief among his sources was Valera's *Vocabulario*, already referred to. There are no old editions of his works, and they remained in manuscript till modern times. In spite of faults, he is important.

For modern editions, see Bibliography.

OLIVA, Anello: Born in Naples in 1593, brought to Peru in 1597. He died in Lima in 1642. Oliva, like las Casas, Valera, Montesinos and others, and especially like Cobo, gives much emphasis to pre-Inca times in the Andes. His information was largely derived from Valera, whom he mentions by name; from Catari, an Indian versed in the lore of the quipus; and other old sources. His work

is of value, though not of the first rank. He was a Jesuit.

1631. *Vidas de Varones Ilustres*. . . Lima.  
2 volumes.

RAMOS GAVILÁN, Alonso: Flourished in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Like his contemporary, Arriaga, Ramos is a first-rank authority for points regarding religion. He was an Augustinian. His activities seem to have centred about the southern end of Lake Titicaca.

1621. *Historia del Célebre Santuario de Nuestra Senora de Copacabana*. Lima.

NOTE.—This is the way Markham lists the title. Bandelier gives it a much longer form. Riva-Aguero, however, agrees with Markham. Personally, I have never succeeded in seeing a copy of the work. A bookseller in Paris was going to sell me it, but he sold it for a higher price to someone else whose identity I never discovered, and I never saw the volume.

For modern editions, see Bibliography.

Consult:

BANDELIER, Adolph F.:

1910. *The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*. Hispanic Society. New York. Page 31.

RIVA-AGUERO, José de la:

1910. *La Historia en el Peru*. Lima. Page 255.

SANTA CRUZ PACHACUTI YAMQUI SALCAYHUA, Juan de: He was a contemporary of Ramos Gavilan and Arriaga. His father was a chieftain in the Collao, and he himself had a deep knowledge of folklore and linguistics. The value of his work is lessened, however, by his credulity and superstition. His so-called star-chart and other things in his work are of very doubtful antiquity.

1620. *Relacion de Antiguedades deste Reino del Peru*. Lima (?).

NOTE.—This edition is exceedingly rare. Not having seen it, I am not sure of the place of its publication.

CALANCHA, Antonio de la: Flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century. He was born at Chuquisaca (now La Paz) in 1584. In 1598 he entered the Augustinian order at Chuquisaca, and soon after came to Lima to complete his education. He visited Trujillo, Arequipa and other places in performance of

his ecclesiastical duties. His attention was much directed, as was that of Arriaga, to the question of extirpating idolatry. He was a strict disciplinarian. In the words of Riva-Aguero (which I translate): "An unwearying collector of . . . documents, and a man who represented the vast but undigested learning of the monastery, he gathered a huge number of data". But his literary style was atrocious, and his habit of jumbling all sorts of things together was a great impediment to his book. Yet there is a great deal of invaluable material buried in his obscurely written pages. He was one of the first great historians to have been affected by that strange literary disease known as culteranismo or gongorismo. Like Arriaga, he is a first-rank source of information concerning religion and folklore. He died in 1654.

1638. *Coronica Moralizada del Orden de San Avgvstin en el Perv, con Svcesos Egenplares en esta Monarquia.* Barcelona.

A continuation of this work was:

CORDOBA, Diego de:

1653. *Coronica Moralizada.* . . Lima.

The two volumes were also issued as one work at Barcelona, Volume I being dated 1639 and being a reproduction of the 1638 edition.

NOTE.—There are no modern editions of this work.

CÁRDENAS, Bernardino de: Born at Chuquisaca (now Sucre) about 1605. He became a Franciscan, and in 1643 was made Bishop of Asunción. While occupying that see he had a protracted quarrel with the Jesuits. His work brought him into close touch with the Indians of his diocese, and he learned much about their folklore and rites. In 1666 he became Bishop of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and he died there in 1668. His work is valuable, but not first-rank.

1634. *Relacion de las Cosas del Peru*. Madrid.

NOTE.—Markham gives this work thus:

1634. *Memorial y Relacion Verdadera para el Rei N. S. y su Real Concejo de las Indias, de Cosas del Reino del Peru, mui Importantes a Su Real Servicio, y Conciencia*. Madrid.

## CHRONOLOGY



## CHRONOLOGY OF THE CONQUEST PERIOD IN THE ANDEAN REGION

NOTE.—One of the shortcomings of Pedro Pizarro's work is its total lack of dates. For that reason the present edition is now provided with the following chronological material which the reader may consult if he so desires. It is based on a wide range of the best available data.

- 1513: B. Nuñez de Balboa discovers the Pacific Ocean.
- 1514: APRIL 12; Pedro Arias de Avila and his wife Isabel de Bobadilla sail from San Lucar de Barameda on their way to Panama.  
JULY 20; They arrive at Panama. Pascual de Andagoya is of their party.
- 1515 to 1521, inclusive: Nothing of importance for us.
- 1522: The Adelantado Pascual de Andagoya makes a voyage southward under the patronage of Governor Arias. He gets as far as the southern part of what is now Colombia and makes journeys of exploration there. He hears definitely of the Inca empire. Ill health obliges him to turn northward.

- 1523: Andagoya returns to Panama and makes his report.
- 1524: Francisco Pizarro, Diego Almagro and Fernando de Luque form a partnership, and Pizarro makes his first trip southward, going somewhat further than Andagoya had gone. Though he and his men suffer untold privations, they hear still more definitely of the Inca empire and its tempting wealth.
- 1525: Pizarro returns from his first trip. News of his voyage reaches Spain.
- 1526: MARCH 10; Pizarro, Almagro and Luque sign at Panama their famous contract for the conquest of Peru. They secure the permission of Arias de Avila.  
NOVEMBER; Pizarro, accompanied by the pilot Bartolomé Ruiz, sets out on his second voyage southward. Almagro follows him before long.
- 1527: The explorers encounter many hardships. Ruiz crosses the Equator; the incident of the balsa brings him into personal touch with subjects of the Inca. Pizarro and his men take refuge from hostile Indians and other dangers on the Island of Gallo. Almagro starts northward in search of new supplies and reinforcements. He unconsciously bears the complaints of the discontented elements among Pizarro's

men. He finds that Pedro de los Rios is now governor of Panama. On receiving the complaints, Rios sends Pedro Alonso de Tafur, a judge, to Gallo in order to bring the men back to Panama. The incident of the thirteen (or sixteen) faithful men. All save them desert Pizarro and return to Panama. After much difficulty with Governor Rios, Almagro succeeds in sending a small vessel with supplies to Gallo. Leaving some of his few followers behind on the island of Gorgona, Pizarro goes southward in this ship and stops at Tumbez where Alonso de Molina and Pedro de Candia go ashore. He then goes down the coast as far as Santa, examining the country as he goes.

**1528:** After exploring the coast as far as Santa, Pizarro returns to Panama and reports what he has seen to Almagro and Luque. In the Spring of the year he leaves for Spain to secure royal favour.

**1529:** Pizarro finds the Court at Toledo. The Emperor Charles V hears his report in person. The Emperor is obliged to leave Spain, however, and leaves the matter in the charge of Juana, the regent.

**JULY 24 or 26;** Agreement or Capitulation for the conquest of Peru signed by Juana and Pizarro. Honours and benefices are bestowed upon Pizarro's followers and colleagues.

- 1530: JANUARY 19; Pizarro sails from San Lucar. With him are his brothers Hernando Pizarro, Gonzalo Pizarro, Juan Pizarro and Francisco Martin de Alcántara, likewise his cousin Pedro Pizarro.

On arriving at Panama Marquis Francisco Pizarro (as he now is) has a quarrel with Almagro who is dissatisfied with the honours which Pizarro has secured for him at Court. Toward the end of the year the opportune arrival of Hernando Ponce de Leon and Hernando de Soto, with two ships from Nicaragua, heals the breach.

NOVEMBER and DECEMBER; Pizarro and these two men, with their followers, go down the coast as far as Coaque. Thence they send the ships back to Panama for more men. They go southward by land.

DECEMBER 25; They have a sharp fight with the people of the Island of Puna.

- 1531: JANUARY; Pizarro and his men, much aided by their firearms and horses and armour, capture Tumbez.

The remainder of the year taken up with explorations.

- 1532: JANUARY to MARCH; Bartolomé de las Casas said to have visited Peru.

MAY 24; San Miguel de Tangarará founded.

SEPTEMBER 24; Leaving Sebastián de

Benalcázar in command at Sañ Miguel, the Marquis sets forth on a trip southward.

SEPTEMBER 27; He reaches the Piura valley.

OCTOBER 7; He passes Pabor or Pabur, in the upper Piura valley.

OCTOBER 8; He reaches Zarran.

OCTOBER 9 to NOVEMBER 4; Explorations by the Marquis (Sechura desert) and Soto (Caxas and Huancabamba).

NOVEMBER 4 to 14; Travelling toward Cajamarca.

NOVEMBER 15; Hernando Pizarro and Soto have an interview with Atahualpa near Cajamarca.

NOVEMBER 16; The capture of Atahualpa.

NOVEMBER 18; Atahualpa offers ransom. He is held prisoner.

DECEMBER 20; Ransom begins to arrive at Cajamarca, in charge of a brother of Atahualpa.

1533: FEBRUARY; Almagro arrives on the coast, having come from Panama.

FEBRUARY 5; Three ordinary soldiers sent from Cajamarca to spy out the country as far as Cuzco.

JANUARY 5 to APRIL 25; Hernando Pizarro makes a long trip from Cajamarca to

Pachacamac and Jauja and back to Cajamarca.

MAY 3; The ransom of Atahualpa is all assembled.

AUGUST 29; Atahualpa executed, on unjust grounds.

SEPTEMBER; The Marquis begins his march toward Cuzco.

NOVEMBER 15; The entry of the Spaniards into Cuzco. Manco Inca.

DECEMBER; Hernando Pizarro at Panama, en route for Spain.

1534: JANUARY; The Spaniards in the Titicaca region.

MARCH; Pedro de Alvarado arrives at the Quito coast from Nicaragua. With about 500 men he marches to conquer Quito, but is forestalled by Sebastián de Benalcázar. Almagro follows the latter northward. They all meet and go to Pachacamac. After a long negotiation Alvarado accepts 100,000 pesos de oro and gives up his claims, returning to Guatemala in DECEMBER.

DECEMBER; Trujillo founded.

1535: JANUARY 1; Marquis Pizarro and Almagro at Pachacamac.

JANUARY 18; Lima founded by Marquis Francisco Pizarro.

- JUNE 12; Agreement as to territories signed by Pizarro and Almagro.
- JULY 3; Almagro, accompanied by Villac Umu, Paullu, Saavedra, Orgoñez and Rada, leaves for Chile with a goodly force.
- 1536: FEBRUARY to DECEMBER; Siege of Cuzco by Manco Inca, who finally withdraws to Vitcos.
- 1537: MARCH; Almagro returns from Chile.
- APRIL 8 or 18; Almagro seizes Cuzco.
- MAY 31; Fray Tomás de Berlanga, Bishop of Panama, appointed to settle boundary disputes between Pizarro and Almagro.
- JULY 12; Almagro and Orgoñez defeat Alonso de Alvarado at Abancay.
- JULY 25; Almagro imprisons Hernando Pizarro and others at Cuzco.
- NOVEMBER 13; Marquis Pizarro and Almagro meet near Chíncha. They quarrel bitterly.
- 1538: JANUARY 1; Almagro in retreat at Huaytara.
- FEBRUARY 10; A. Enriquez de Guzman is made Captain-general of Cuzco.
- APRIL 26; Hernando Pizarro and Gonzalo Pizarro defeat Rodrigo Orgoñez at the battle of las Salinas.
- JULY 8; Diego de Almagro, the Elder, put to death at Cuzco.

- 1539: OCTOBER (?); Hernando Pizarro leaves for Spain. Gonzalo Pizarro enters the forests of the Amazon valley.
- 1540: JANUARY; Marquis Pizarro in Upper Peru. MARCH; Pedro de Valdivia leaves for Chile. AUGUST 15; Arequipa founded by Pizarro and Garci Manuel de Carvajal.
- 1541: FEBRUARY 24; Cristóbal Vaca de Castro arrives at Panama. MARCH 19; He sails for Peru and later leaves his ship on the Quito coast or at Buenaventura (Colombia). JUNE 26; Marquis Francisco Pizarro assassinated. JULY 14; Diego de Almagro the lad writes to the Audience of Panama asking for their favour. NOVEMBER 15; Vaca de Castro is at Quito.
- 1542: JANUARY; Vaca de Castro leaves Quito. JUNE; Gonzalo Pizarro returns from the Amazon valley. SEPTEMBER 16; Vaca de Castro, with the aid of Carbajal, defeats Almagro the lad at the battle of Chupas. Almagro the lad killed. NOVEMBER 20; The New Laws signed at Barcelona by Charles V. NOVEMBER 24; Vaca de Castro in Cuzco.

- 1543: JANUARY to MAY; Vaca de Castro at Cuzco institutes governmental reforms.  
NOVEMBER; Blasco Nuñez Vela leaves Spain with New Laws.
- 1544: MARCH 4; B. Nuñez Vela arrives at Tumbez.  
MAY 15; He takes over the viceregal post at Lima.  
SEPTEMBER 13; He kills Guillen Xuarez de Carbajal.  
SEPTEMBER 18; He is deposed by the Audience and shipped north.  
OCTOBER 28; Gonzalo Pizarro enters Lima in triumph.  
OCTOBER; B. Nuñez Vela lands at Tumbez.
- 1545: MAY (?); Rebellion of Centeno against Gonzalo Pizarro.  
JULY (?); News of bad reception of New Laws reaches the Court.  
NOVEMBER 20; The New Laws revoked.  
NOVEMBER (?); Death of Manco Inca at Vitcos.
- 1546: JANUARY 18; Blasco Nuñez Vela killed at the battle of Añaquito, the battle being won by Gonzalo Pizarro and Sebastián de Benalcázar.  
FEBRUARY 26; Pedro de la Gasca is given powers equal to royal by Emperor Charles V, at Venlo, Flanders.

MAY 24 or 27; Gasca leaves San Lucar.

JULY 17; He reaches Nombre de Dios.

JULY; Gonzalo Pizarro begins to move southward from Quito toward Lima.

AUGUST 11; Gasca reaches Panama. He finds Hinojosa there with fleet of Gonzalo Pizarro.

AUGUST 13; Gasca meets Hinojosa at Panama.

NOVEMBER 15; Lorenzo de Aldana arrives at Panama.

NOVEMBER 19; Hinojosa and Aldana hand over Gonzalo Pizarro's fleet to Gasca.

1547: JANUARY 9; Bishop Jerónimo de Loayza joins Gasca at Panama.

JANUARY; Gonzalo Pizarro entertains hopes of becoming king.

FEBRUARY 17; L. de Aldana sails from Panama with the fleet.

MARCH; Plans for coronation of Pizarro being carried forward.

APRIL and MAY; Plans for coronation being hastened.

APRIL 10; Gasca leaves Panama.

JUNE 23; Gasca reaches Manta.

JULY 1; He reaches Tumbez.

AUGUST 4; Still at Tumbez.

OCTOBER 21; Battle of Huarina won by Gonzalo Pizarro against Diego Centeno.

- DECEMBER 30; Gasca at Jauja.
- 1548: APRIL 9; Battle of Xaquixaguana. Death of Gonzalo Pizarro, and of Carbajal.  
APRIL 12; Gasca enters Cuzco in triumph.  
APRIL 18; Still in Cuzco.
- 1549: FEBRUARY to DECEMBER; Gasca at Lima.
- 1550: JANUARY 27; Gasca sails for Panama, leaving the government in the hands of the Judges of the Royal Audience.
- 1551: The University of San Marcos is founded.  
NOVEMBER 12; Antonio de Mendoza arrives in Lima as Viceroy.
- 1552: JULY 21; Mendoza dies. The Audience controls the government.
- 1553: NOVEMBER 12; Francisco Hernández Girón arises in revolt.
- 1554: JANUARY 4; Girón goes to Lima.  
JANUARY 27; He is joined at Guamanga by Tomás Vasquez.  
MARCH 30; Alonso de Alvarado goes to Cuzco.  
MAY 8; Girón goes up from Nasca to Chuquinga.  
MAY 21; After battle of Chuquinga he enters Cuzco in triumph.  
SEPTEMBER 22; He retreats south to Pucará and is defeated there.



## RELATION

Of the discovery and conquest of the kingdoms of Peru, and of the government and arrangements which the natives of them formerly had, and of the treasures which were found therein, and of the other events which have taken place in those realms up to the day on which the Relation was signed. Done by Pedro Pizarro, a conqueror and settler of those said kingdoms, and a citizen of the city of Arequipa, in the year 1571.

To the Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty of the King Don Felipe our Lord, Pedro Pizarro, his meanest vassal.

Many, O most catholic and most clement Prince, are those who have written about the affairs of these your kingdoms of Peru, as well those which touch upon the conquest as those which occurred after the realms were settled by your vassals, but, as the writers do not write of what they saw, treating only of what they have heard, they can not give a clear and truthful account of what they describe, and so I, the least of your vassals, agreed to bring out into the light all that which, up to now, has remained in the dark and in the shadows, for I am a person who has been in these provinces from the beginning of the conquest until its termination, and I have had a part in all the several events which took place after the conquest. And, although lowly and petty matters are unworthy to be offered to great and exalted Princes like Your Majesty, still I made so bold as to dedicate and direct the present trifling work to you so that,

through your favour and protection, it may be made great. As it concerns itself with kingdoms and lordships of Your Majesty, so remote from your Royal presence, I rest my hope upon the Creator of them and of all things that it will give pleasure to Your Majesty and also that it may be a cause for giving praise to our Lord to whom may many thanks be given for the marvels which he wrought upon his faithful during the time the conquest of these kingdoms lasted, and even afterwards. May the Lord permit Your Majesty to enjoy long years of life, and afterwards give you years which shall have no end.

*The Relation of the Discovery and Conquest of Peru Begins*

In tierra firme, in the city of Panama, there were three companions who were conquerors and settlers in that land. They were Don Francisco Pizarro, Don Diego de Almagro, and Father Luque. They were associates in some estates and allotments of Indians which had been granted to them. Of these men the most

important was Don Francisco Pizarro whom, as such, the governors of tierra firme made a captain in the conquest of that land. Don Diego de Almagro was a very good soldier, and so excellent a woodsman that he could follow an Indian through even the thickest forests merely by tracing his tracks and, although the Indian might have a league's advantage of him, yet would Almagro catch up with him. Father Luque was a citizen of Panama at that time, and they were the richest men then in the place.<sup>35</sup> Just then the people of tierra firme had news of a province which is called Peru, some two hundred leagues from tierra firme, but up the coast from the land which is now called Peru, for they gave to this land of Peru the name of that province which is near Barua-coas on the side toward Panama.<sup>36</sup> And they could not conquer that province of Peru as it is in a very mountainous country and has very bellicose people who put poisonous herbs on their arrows. They are people who keep watch by night and sound the quarter hours upon

drums. And the province is small and on bad soil. So these three companions agreed to set forth to conquer this said province. Then, on discussing the matter with Pedro Arias de Avila, who at that time was governor of tierra firme, they brought him into contract with them under such conditions that Pedro Arias was not to be obliged then to contribute any money or anything else, but that his share of the expenses was to be paid out of his share of whatever might be found in the land. The three companions perforce agreed to these terms as a means of getting the necessary licence, for otherwise they would not have got it. Then having received the licence, they made Don Francisco Pizarro Captain-general, and Don Diego de Almagro they made second leader. They then embarked, and proceeded on their journey down the coast until they arrived at the said province of Peru, where they could not do anything for the reasons already told, and so they went on down the coast where they suffered many trials and many of the men died, for it was a land of mangrove

swamps with but few Indians, some of whom came in canoes built upon logs, and in this land two years were spent, and they suffered excessive hardships, and more than three hundred men died of hunger and disease. Then, at the end of this time, they took port at the island of Gallo and at that of Borgona [*sic*], so shattered and so greatly enfeebled that they were unable to proceed further. They agreed to send Don Diego de Almagro to Panama in a ship which they had, for Pedro de los Rios, who had come to inspect the acts of Pedro Arias de Avila and to be governor of tierra firme, had sent for them to return. And when this was decided upon, it was agreed that Don Francisco Pizarro should remain on Borgona [*sic*] lest, if all should return, there should be none to return to the work begun. Then, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro remaining on the said island with twelve men, one of them wrote a letter which he placed in a ball of cotton destined for the governor Pedro de los Rios. In the letter he said: "Very magnificent Sir: Know this to be the truth entire,

that yonder goes the gleaner, and here remains the butcher.”<sup>37</sup> When Almagro arrived at Panama with the men who wished to go with him, the letter was seen by the governor Pedro de los Rios who did not wish to grant leave for any people to return to the place where Don Francisco Pizarro was, and, seeing this, Don Diego de Almagro and his companion Father Luque made many requisitions upon the governor, protesting that the lives of those who had remained on the island must be saved. For this reason the governor finally gave them leave to send men to Don Francisco Pizarro under the condition that, if no land suitable for settlement should be found, they would return within four months of the time at which they arrived at the place where Don Francisco Pizarro was.<sup>38</sup> Then, this licence having been obtained, Don Diego de Almagro prepared the ship and provided supplies, and with some Spaniards despatched it under the command of Bartolomé Perez [i. e., Ruiz], a pilot who had gone out on the voyage of conquest and dis-

covery to los Manglares.<sup>39</sup> When he arrived at the island of Borgona [*sic*] he found the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro with the companions who had remained with him, and there was much joy on the part of those who were on the island, for they were on the point of perishing with hunger, and they had determined to entrust themselves to a vessel in order to go to Panama, for it was now five months that they had been suffering there, among great perils from the Indians who had given them many battles, and on the day on which they were to set out, the ship arrived, and they all went aboard of it, and they went on down the coast in order to discover what there was beyond. And thereby was our Lord served, for they came upon good land, for they encountered the province of Puerto Viejo, and from there they went to the port of Tumbez, and they passed a little further down the coast where they got news of this land, although not of all that was later found and discovered. They saw some ewes which the people gave them, and aboard some balsas

which they overtook upon the sea there were girdles of mother-of-pearl, of gold and of silver, as well as some of the clothes which they wear in that country, all of which they kept in order to take it to Spain to show to His Majesty. And likewise there were three or four boys, Indians of the land, whom they captured aboard the balsas, as well as some others whom the Indians gave them to eat, thinking that the Spaniards were eaters of human flesh.<sup>40</sup> And, having given many thanks to God for having vouchsafed them so many mercies, and for having shown them a land so rich and so well peopled, they determined to return to tierra firme in order to go and give the tidings to His Majesty of all that they had discovered. And, taking with them the specimens of the things they had found, they set forth, and they left behind a Spaniard named Morillo who had fled inland, and another, named Bocanegra, remained behind with permission to do so. The greatest town which they found at that time was Tumbez, and this they stated to be the chief town of

the country in the report and relation which they brought back and made public. All this having been arranged, they returned to Panama where they found Pedro de los Rios established as governor, because Pedro Arias Dávila, who was governor before, had gone to Nicaragua, a province which had just been discovered. And in this Don Francisco Pizarro and Don Diego de Almagro had good fortune, for if Pedro Arias had been there he would have taken the enterprise away from them, and would have taken it for himself. When the said companions were arrived, then, they agreed between themselves and Father Luque that Don Francisco Pizarro should go to Spain to seek the governorship for himself and Don Diego de Almagro, and, for Father Luque, a bishopric. And all being arranged, the said Don Francisco Pizarro set out, carrying with him the specimens which they had brought from that land, and two Indians of those whom, as I have said, were given them to eat. Up to this point I tell what I have heard. Henceforth I shall tell what I have seen.<sup>41</sup>

Having set forth on his journey, he was by the grace of our Lord borne safely to Spain where he soon went to kiss the feet of His Majesty the Emperor our Lord, who is now in glory, and who was then in the city of Toledo, and when he [Pizarro] had given him [the Emperor] an account of what had been discovered, His Majesty sent him to his Council of the Indies whose president at that time was the Conde de Osorno, and Don Francisco made his plea in conformity with the agreement he had come to with his already mentioned companions. In the Council they told him that it was not fitting that governorship be given to two companions, because in Santa Marta it had been done, and one governor had killed the other. Would that it had pleased God our Lord that they had held to this decision always, for later on governorship was given to Don Diego de Almagro, and one of them killed the other, and all the battles and wars which have taken place in this kingdom have grown out of the event. Don Francisco Pizarro, having many times be-

sought them to grant the governorship to both companions, as I say, was advised to ask for the governorship for himself only without its being granted to any other person. Perceiving that there was no likelihood of his receiving what he asked for and desired, he did ask that the grant be made to him, and thus it was done. And having entered into an agreement with the Sovereign as to what things were to be done, he went to the city of Seville where he embarked in two ships and a small vessel so as to carry with him the troops he was ordered to take, who were to number three hundred. After equipping the ships, he embarked with some troops, but not with the full complement he was supposed to take with him.<sup>42</sup> While he was thus in the port of San Lucar waiting for a favourable time to sail, Don Francisco Pizarro was warned that officials were coming to review the troops he was taking, and that if the full complement were found not to be present, they would prevent his journey. When Don Francisco Pizarro learned this he embarked on the small vessel

already mentioned; he forthwith sailed out past the bar of San Lucar and went to wait for us at the island of Gomera. When those who had come to hold the review arrived, they saw that Don Francisco Pizarro was gone, and they took possession of his two ships, but they were made to understand that the number of men which was lacking was aboard the small vessel. And in a few days, under good weather conditions, we sailed out past the bar of San Lucar in the said two ships under Hernando Pizarro, his brother, whom he had left as captain of them. And our Lord being pleased to vouchsafe us good weather, we arrived at the island of Gomera, where we found Don Francisco Pizarro, and thence all together we set forth in good weather and went to take port at Santa Marta, where Pedro de Lerma was governor, and the people there enticed away some of our men, spreading abroad a rumour that the land to which we were going was a bad land with nothing to eat but serpents and lizards and dogs, which news caused a good deal of fear among the men who came

with us. And so some of them fled from us and remained in that place. And from there we went to the port of Nombre de Dios where Don Diego de Almagro, on learning of the arrival of his companion Don Francisco Pizarro, came to meet him. And when he understood that he did not bring powers of government for both of them and that His Majesty had not wished to give it to both of them, but to one only, Don Diego de Almagro rebelled, and he took himself off with the money and wealth he had collected, and he did not wish to aid Don Francisco Pizarro to prepare his fleet and pass on to, for he said that since he [Pizarro] had not arranged all that had been agreed upon, that money and wealth was his own, for Don Francisco Pizarro had spent his share and much more besides on his trip to Spain, and Father Luque did likewise, because he [Pizarro] had not brought him the bishopric agreed upon, for His Majesty did not wish to grant it until he had informed himself as to what sort of a man he [Luque] was. And on account of all this

much hardship was experienced, and some of the troops who had come out with the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro died. And as it was not possible, the journey was not made. And sometimes, through the mediation of third parties, Pizarro and Almagro came into agreement, and on one of these occasions when they were in agreement, Hernando Pizarro being ill, Almagro went to visit him, and they discussed between themselves the preparations for their journey. Hernando Pizarro told him that he was much afflicted because he could not give horses to two squires whom he had brought with him so that they might come to him, and Almagro told him not to feel badly about it for he himself would give to Juan Cortes and to Toro, thus were the squires called, a horse for each one, and he gave his word that he do it, which word he never kept, and for this reason Hernando Pizarro used evil language to Don Diego de Almagro, calling him a roistering scoundrel and other offensive things. I have wished to relate all this in order that the origin

of all the passion and rancour between Pizarro and Almagro may be understood, from which have resulted in this land so many battles, and the deaths of so many men, and so many mishaps, and the misfortunes because of which neither Pizarro nor Almagro has a clod of earth in this land, both having died the unfortunate deaths which overtook them. Then, things being in this situation, it befell that Hernando Ponce de León came from Nicaragua with two ships laden with slaves whom he meant to sell in Panama, they belonging to him and to his companion Hernando de Soto.<sup>43</sup> Seeing the arrival of this Hernan Ponce, Hernando Pizarro tried to induce him to give him the two ships which he had brought in order that he [Hernando Pizarro] might carry troops to this land, for the thing they needed most for the journey was ships. Hernan Ponce came to an agreement with them, getting many advantages out of the bargain, and his companion, Soto, whom Hernando Pizarro and his brother Don Francisco Pizarro placed in command of the

ships and was made captain and lieutenant governor of the chief town which should be founded if the land proved to be rich, and to the said Hernan Ponce was to be given one of the best repartimientos which were in the kingdom. All this the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro and his brother granted and carried out. Don Diego de Almagro, seeing how this agreement had been made, and how because of it the journey could be accomplished, agreed to make friends with Don Francisco Pizarro and Hernando Pizarro his brother, which was done, although with reservations and evil designs, as always thereafter appeared.

All that I have said having been arranged, Don Francisco Pizarro, with the troops who had come from Spain and with some who had joined him in *tierra firme*, in all some two hundred men, embarked and proceeded on his journey, taking port at the bay of San Mateo where he set some men ashore, after which the ships went on down the coast, visiting a village called Coaque, and our Lord was well

served by their touching there, for, on account of what was found there, the land gained in renown, and men came to it, as will be told further on.<sup>44</sup> Then, having arrived at this village of Coaque, they attacked it suddenly without warning to its people, for had it been otherwise they would not have captured the quantity of gold and emeralds which they did capture there.<sup>45</sup> As soon as the village was taken, its inhabitants fled, and they could not have been very many for this village is near to great forests, and they left all their possessions behind them. The Spaniards collected them and assembled all the gold and silver in one place, for it was forbidden on pain of death to do anything else, because all had to bring whatever they found to one pile so that the governor might there distribute it, giving to each man a quantity in conformity to his merits and services, and this arrangement was preserved throughout the conquest of this land, and he who was found to have gold or silver hidden away died for it, and on this account no one, so far as is known, dared

to hide them. About the emeralds there was a shameful mistake on the part of certain persons who did not know their value. But some others knew what they were and kept them. But in the end there were many emeralds of great value. Some of the men tried them on anvils, giving them blows with a hammer, saying that if they were emeralds they would not break. Others scorned the stones, saying they were glass. He who knew what they were kept them and held his tongue, as they say was done by a Frai Reginaldo who found some [emeralds] at Panama while he was going to Spain, he being a Dominican who died, one of the three whom the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro had out from Spain, and the chief of them. [He could do this] because these [stones] did not have to go into the pile which was made, as they were something which was not then understood, although later it became known what they were. Much finery of gold and silver was found, many crowns made of gold after the fashion of imperial crowns, and many other pieces

the value of which mounted to more than two hundred thousand castellanos. From the place where this village of Coaque was down to Caxamalca they did not find two thousand pesos of gold and silver all told, on account of which the troops were much dismayed, and they were very discontented. Having got this treasure, Don Francisco Pizarro sent one of the ships of Hernan Ponce de Leon to Nicaragua under Garcia de Aguilar with some of these gold crowns and other pieces in order that, on seeing them, troops might be encouraged to come to these parts. As soon as the wealth which the ship brought was seen, Hernando de Soto, already mentioned, armed his Indians, and assembled as many as one hundred [Spanish] men, who at that time had neither captains nor governors nor pay from anyone, but each one for himself got on without aid from anyone, and they even paid freight charges to the owners of the ships. In this Coaque they found many mattresses of wool from the ceyua, which is a tree they grow there and thus name.<sup>46</sup> And it befell

then that some Spaniards who threw themselves down upon the mattresses got up crippled, for if the arm or the leg was doubled up during sleep it could not be straightened out again except with very great difficulty. This was the lot of some people, and it was understood to be the origin of a disease called *berrugas*, a disease so bad and tormenting that it caused many men to be wearied and worn by pain just as if they had tumours, and even great sores came out all over the body, and some were as big as eggs, and they corrupted the skin, and much pus and blood ran out of them so that it was necessary to cut them out and to throw strong things [herbs?] into the wound to kill the root. There were other sores as small as measles, because of which the whole body swelled up. Few were those who escaped having them, though they attacked some men more than they did others. Some wished to claim that the cause of this infirmity was some fish which they ate in the provinces of Puerto Viejo, and which the Indians maliciously gave to the Spaniards.<sup>47</sup>

While, as I say, they were thus in this village of Coaque, preparing to pass onward, Benalcazar arrived<sup>48</sup> with about thirty men in a small vessel. This gave great joy to the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro and to those who were with him, and they received them with much joy, and so they made great haste and began to journey overland from Puerto Viejo onward, and so, by their forced marches, they went on until they received news of the island of Puna, and going aboard the ships they entered it, and the cacique of it came out in peace and gave a good reception to the Spaniards, and he stayed in this frame of mind some days, at the end of which he permitted [his people] to rise up and slay the Spaniards, and he used a stratagem, for he was wont to come with great noise to visit the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro.<sup>49</sup> This noise was declared to be [their notion of] dancing, and so they made it while they came with their arms, and finally the truth came out, and there was a battle with the Spaniards in which some soldiers were wounded,

among them Hernando Pizarro, who was wounded in the leg. They made prisoner the cacique of the island and some of his chief men; he was called Tumala, and all were kept prisoners for several days. When the Indians of Tumbez received this news, they came feigning pacific intentions [toward the Spaniards] in order to avenge themselves upon them of the island of Puna, because there had been great wars between them, and they of Puna had destroyed Tumbez by fire. And, as I say, in order to avenge themselves, they came in peace and besought the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro to yield up to them the cacique and his chiefs in order that they might slay them, for which they [of Tumbez] would give their friendship to the Christians. And the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro in order to win their friendship, and because they had come thither in peace, gave up to them some of the chiefs, whom they killed in the presence of the Spaniards by means of beheading. The chief cacique he [Pizarro] did not wish to give up to them, and after-

wards he was set free when we left that place. In this island were found five ewes of the country so fat that they could not multiply, but when they were killed not so much as two *arrelles* of good meat were found on them.<sup>50</sup> Also there was in this island an Inga, one of those of Cuzco, who governed Puerto Viejo and the island [of Puna] and Tumbez for the Inga [the Sovereign], and as soon as the Spaniards arrived he disappeared and went away without informing himself of anything. Here in this island were found three Indian women who had been servants of the two Spaniards named Morillo and Bocanegra<sup>51</sup> who, as I said, remained in that land when the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro discovered it and went to Spain to ask for the governorship of it. Among the clothes of these women was found a small piece of paper with writing in which said Bocanegra: Know you who may come to this land that there is more gold in it than there is iron in Vizcaya. When this paper was read most of the soldiers believed it, and it was purposely read in public

by the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, for the men were very discontented on account of not having found another Coaque. The people of this island [of Puna] and those of Puerto Viejo and Tumbez, wear raiment, consisting of very fine silky fibres, on their heads. The chiefs and rich Indians wear girdles woven with mother-of-pearl, gold and silver four fingers in width, and narrower over the hips than in that part which lies over the body. Above this they wear a garment which conceals the person. Some of the women wear the same costume, though they are covered down to the wrist and on the legs almost to the ankle. These people have maize, beans, fish, and other vegetables, to eat. Save for those ewes I have mentioned, they have none north of Tumbez. The people of the island and those of Tumbez were very bellicose in war, and they wore their hair cut short a little below the ear. For arms they had long arrows, spears and clubs. The folk of Puerto Viejo were very dirty and were given over to the abominable crime.<sup>52</sup> They worshipped

stones and wooden idols and, by order of the Inga, the sun. Then, being in this situation which I describe, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro saw himself on the said island with many of his men sick with berrugas, [and he was waiting for] the coming of more troops so that they might set out thence, for, on account of the many bad people round about, they had not set out. [Just then] Hernando de Soto arrived from Nicaragua with the above-mentioned troops in two ships, on account of which the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro and those who were with him received much pleasure and contentment, although those who had come [did not feel the same way], because as they had left the Paradise of Mahoma which Nicaragua was and had found an island in revolt and lacking in food and the greater part of the troops sick and neither gold nor silver such as had been found in the lands behind them, some and all wished to return whence they had come, and the captain for very shame did not prevent it, nor did the soldiers, not being able to do so.

Then, while all were preparing to pass onward to Tumbez, it befell that His Majesty's treasurer, Riquelme, seeing how poor and sickly was the land as far as that point, and for other reasons which he pretended to have moved him, made up his mind to flee from the land, and so he secretly agreed with the master of a small ship, and one night he embarked clandestinely and went away. When his going was learned of by the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, he went aboard one of the two ships which were in the port, went in pursuit of him, caught up with him and brought him back. And in a few days more he ordered the men to make ready, and, the horses [cavalry?] having been put aboard the ships, the rest of the men embarked on some balsas which were then with us, and which belonged to the people of Tumbez who offered to carry some Spaniards and baggage upon them. Their purpose was treason as later appeared, for after we had left the island the balsas carrying some troops and other things, as I have said, put ashore on some small

islands which they [the Indians] knew. They made the Spaniards go ashore there to sleep, and when they believed them to be asleep, they went away, taking the balsas with them, and later they returned with more [Indian] troops and killed those [Spaniards] whom they had left there. What befell to three Spaniards whom they killed was in this wise; and the same thing would have happened to Francisco Martin, brother of the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, and to Alonso de Mesa, a citizen of Cuzco, and to me, if it had not been for the fact that Alonso de Mesa was very sick with the berrugas and so did not wish to get off the balsa and [sleep] on the islet where they had cast us ashore and where Francisco Martin and I got off, keeping very close to the shore in such a way that not more than seventy paces lay between us and the water. While we were thus sleeping, at midnight the Indians pulled up the stone tied with a rope which they throw into the sea to serve as an anchor. Believing that Mesa was sleeping, they intended to go away, leaving us there

and killing Mesa later. And, as I have said, the berrugas gave Mesa great pain, and he was awake, and, when he saw what the Indians were doing, he gave great shouts which awakened Francisco Martin and me, and when we understood the evil they [the Indians] planned, we bound the chief and the two other Indians, and so we were on the watch all night. And the next day we set out thence and arrived at the coast of Tumbez, and the Indians, now that we were in the surf, threw themselves into the water and dragged us into the waves which cast us up upon the shore very wet and half drowned, and the Indians, seeing that we were now on shore, pushed the balsa off into the waves, then they took it and went off with it, carrying with them everything which we were bringing with us. At last they left us with only what we wore upon our backs, and so they robbed many who had put their belongings upon the balsas believing that the Indians would carry them safely; among [those who did so] were captain Soto and others. Then,

when the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro had arrived at the port of Tumbez with the ships and had sent soldiers ashore, he learned that Tumbez was in rebellion, and he also learned what had happened upon the balsas, on account of which so great sorrow came upon the men that it was a marvellous thing, because all his information led him to rely on Tumbez, thinking that there he might refresh and rest himself. Then, arriving at the village, and seeing it all burnt and destroyed and in revolt, for after [the people of] la Puna burned it, it had never been rebuilt, the men of Nicaragua had cause for sighs, and the soldiers heaped maledictions upon the governor for leading them, lost men, into remote lands with so sparse a population, and they cursed Coaque for the [misleading] wealth it had given them, for up to now and in this region of Tumbez, no news had been received of the greatness of this land. While they were in this confusion, it befell that an Indian of this place of Tumbez came in peace, and he said to Marquis Pizarro that he had had no wish to flee, for he

knew what a dire thing was war, for there had been [war] in Cuzco, and that it seemed to him that the Spaniards were men of war and of much power, and that they were destined to conquer everything, and that for this reason he had not wished to go with the others, and [he begged] that his house be not robbed. The Marquis told him to cause a cross to be put where he lived, and he said that his orders were that where it should be found nothing should be touched. And thus he gave orders to Rodrigo Nuñez, who was the distributor of rations, and he proclaimed that no one was to go to a house where a cross might be seen. This Rodrigo Nuñez took great care in distributing the food which the Indians brought together when they came out [from the town] in peace, because [though] the people came in peace, no Spaniard dared to enter an Indian's house to take anything from him, nor did they dare to take anything from any other place under penalty of being visited with just punishment, and whoever was not in favour of this [law] was exiled or slain. And all this

was kept up until Don Pedro de Alvarado arrived in these parts. The men whom he brought came with their bad habits from Guatemala, and they were the inventors of plundering when Almagro took them to Chile, as will be told later on.<sup>53</sup> Then, seeing that Tumbez was in revolt and the troops sick, there was great need of eating meat and other things, and Marquis Pizarro sent captain Soto and seventy cavalrymen in search of Chile Masa,<sup>54</sup> for thus was the Lord of Tumbez called, and thus it was done. And while they were going in search of him, captain Soto and the men who were with him attempted a half-hearted rebellion against the governor, pretending to go to a certain province in the direction of Quito. And because some did not join the revolt and because Joan de la Torre and others fled and came to give warning to the Marquis, he [Soto] dissimulated his wish, but thenceforth, whenever Soto went anywhere he [Pizarro] sent with him his two brothers Juan Pizarro and Gonzalo Pizarro. While, as I say, Soto was going in search of

Chile Masa, it happened that while the cavalry was going up a very sharp slope, Chile Masa saw them from a mountain where he was hidden, and Chile Masa said to some chiefs whom he had with him: If these Christians go up the mountain with their horses I can not escape. It would be a good thing for us to go out to them in peace. Then he despatched an Indian to Soto to say that if they [the Spaniards] would pardon him, he would come to them in peace. Soto gave him assurance, and so he came forth with his chiefs and Indians, and then Soto caused it to be made known to the governor, on account of which there was much contentment in the camp, and within a few days he arrived [there] with the cacique and Indians who were given a good welcome, and they were ordered to go to their houses and to have no fear. Then turning to the Indian who said that he had not wished to flee and that there had been war in Cuzco, the Marquis had him summoned and questioned through an interpreter, who was one of the boys whom, as I have said, they took

to Spain and who was called Don Francisco, because the two Spaniards who, as I said, remained in this land had been killed by the Indians a little while before we came hither, one in Tumbez and the other in Cinto.<sup>55</sup> Then, the Indian being asked what Cuzco might be, he said that it was a great town where the Lord of all of them dwelt, and that it had much well-peopled land and many vessels of gold and silver and things inlaid with plates of gold. And certainly the Indian told the truth, and less than he might have said. But as the men were so downcast they did not believe him, saying that it was a stratagem of the governor, who had taught the Indian what to say in order to encourage the soldiers, and so they believed nothing of the news as to what manner of land it was.

While matters were in this condition, news was received of certain valleys such as Pariña, Tangarala and Poechos,<sup>56</sup> and, notwithstanding what the Indian [messenger] told them, they [the Spaniards] held it to be a romance. The Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro agreed to

pass onward in search of these rumoured places, and he, in person, and the sound men set forth for Pohechos, taking Hernando de Soto with him. He left his brother Hernando Pizarro with the rest of the men, who were sick, and with the peones in order that little by little he might lead them after him. Having set out, Don Francisco Pizarro went on by forced marches until he reached Pohechos where he had news of the province of Caxas and of the history of Atabalipa, who was going from Quito to Caxamalca waging war upon his brother Guascar who, at this time, was the natural Lord reigning over this land.<sup>57</sup> When he got this news he sent off Hernando de Soto with some cavalry to Caxas in order to learn who Atabalipa was and what troops he had, and in order to see the province of Caxas and bring him news of it. When Hernando de Soto was gone, he tarried away more time than he was granted, which caused a suspicion in the camp that all was not going as it had been arranged in Tumbez. While they were in this anxiety, Hernando Pizarro arrived

with the [sick] men already mentioned. While matters were in this state, it befell that certain Spaniards who were in the Chira [valley],<sup>58</sup> having come thither from Tumbez [were imperilled by] the Indians of that province and of Tangarala [who] plotted to kill them, which was discovered by an Indian woman whom Palomino, the citizen of Piura, had. When the Spaniards learned that [the Indians] wished to kill them, [the Spaniards] retired to a fortress which they [the Indians] call Guaca,<sup>59</sup> where they adore their idols, and from there they sent a messenger to the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro asking that he send them [the besieged Spaniards] aid. When this was learned, and Soto having now arrived bearing news of Atabalipa and the province of Caxas, from which the troops derived some consolation, although they did not lack fear on account of the news of the great number of troops who were with Atabalipa, the Marquis set forth with some cavalry to the Chira to succour the Spaniards who were there, as I have said, leaving all the rest of the troops

with Hernando Pizarro as if he were the captain-general. Then, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro having arrived at the place where the Spaniards were, he sent to call the cacique of Chira and others of Tangarala who, as they were caught, had dissimulated, saying that they did not wish to do thus and so. Then [having finally] assembled the caciques, he told them that he had certain information to the effect that they had wished to kill the Spaniards and had assembled to do so, and that, if they had not been detected, they would have done so, for which he condemned to death thirteen caciques, and, after giving them the garrote, they [the Spaniards] burned them. This done, the Marquis set forth for Tangarala where he had agreed to establish a town, and so he did so, and afterwards it was moved to Piura where it is now established, and this was the first town founded in this kingdom, and all the villages and Indians that there were from Tumbez to Piura were divided up [among the Spaniards].<sup>60</sup>

While things were in this state, and while

Hernando Pizarro was at Pohechos, Atabalipa, having news of [the arrival of] the Spaniards, sent an Inga orejon, whom they called Apoo, [with orders] to go disguised in the clothes of the tallanas<sup>61</sup> to see the Christians and make the acquaintance of their captain, and to see what manner of men they were. Then, the Indian having reached Pohechos, the caciques rebelled and ceased to serve Hernando Pizarro and those of the Inga's men—who were with him as they had been wont to do. And at this time, the Indian whom, as I have said, Atabalipa had sent, took the clothing of the tallanas and a basket of guanas, which are a fruit which there is in this land, and he went to see Hernando Pizarro, taking with him that present, pretending that it was his purpose to beg forgiveness for the cacique of Pohechos who had ceased to yield service. And when he had arrived, Hernando Pizarro arose in great wrath, and taking him by the scarf which he wore, which is the tallano clothing, he threw him upon the ground and gave him many kicks, and the Indian hid his

face so as not to be known, and thus he stole away. This event was learned [later] through this same Indian. Afterwards he came openly to see the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, as will be related further on, and then he went to give news to his Lord of what he had seen and of what had befallen him. And when he had arrived at Caxamalca, where Atabalipa was, he told him that they [the Spaniards] were bearded robbers who had come out of the sea, and that the knights came upon sheep such as those which there are in the Collao, though larger than any which are in this land. Then, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro having determined to settle at Tangarala, as I have said, he sent word to Juan Pizarro his brother [ordering] him to go with fifty horsemen to the Piura [valley] and there establish himself with a large watch consisting of many spies who kept themselves in knowledge of the doings of Atabalipa's forces, and all the rest of the men with Hernando Pizarro were ordered to come to Tangarala. And all these things having been arranged, the Marquis Don Fran-

cisco Pizarro formed the settlement of Tangarala, distributing the repartimientos which I have mentioned, and there were great differences of opinion as to who was to have Tumbes, and it fell to captain Soto [and his men] because they were still incredulous [of the reports received], and from here Francisco de Ysasaga returned to Santo Domingo, promising his horse as a reward to whomever should get leave for him [to do so].<sup>62</sup>

These tallanos wear shirts and mantles of cotton worked with decorations in wool; others wear scarfs about the head and under the chin with a trimming of fringe. The women wear long cloaks which fall from the throat to the feet. They have the lips bored near the chin, and in the holes they place round buttons of gold and silver which conceal the holes. They take them out and put them in whenever they wish to do so. They adored idols like the other [people] mentioned, and also the sun. By command of the Inga there were here deposits of dried small lizards which were to be carried as tribute to the Inga at

Cuzco with all the other things which they have to pay in tribute. From this Tangarala to Cuzco it is almost three hundred leagues.

Then, having arranged for the settlement and the allotment of land at Tangarala, the Marquis left as lieutenant-governor Antonio Navarro, His Majesty's paymaster; here also remained the other officers [including] the treasurer and inspector.<sup>63</sup> Then, taking all the rest of the men, leaving only those who were the settlers in that place, he [the Marquis] set out for Caxamalca, publishing it among the natives that he was going to favour and assist Guascar, the natural Lord of this kingdom, who was now fallen and whom the captains of Atabalipa, Quizquiz and Challi-cuchima, were carrying off in a state of vanquishment. Then, as they were journeying along with this purpose in Sarran, the same Indian named Apoo who, as I have said, was misused by Hernando Pizarro at Pohechos, came out [to meet the Spaniards]. He came openly, with certain impudent drakes,<sup>64</sup> and two shirts with decorations of silver and gold, all

of which he presented to Don Francisco Pizarro, saying that it was sent by Atabalipa. And the coming of this Indian was for the purpose of counting how many men there were, and so he went from one Spaniard to another, trying their strength in such a manner that they laughed at him, and asking them to draw their swords and show them to him. It befell that when he came to one Spaniard to do this he [the Indian] laid his hand upon his [the Spaniard's] beard, for which the Spaniard gave him many violent blows. When this was learned of by the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro he proclaimed that no one should lay hands upon an Indian for anything which he did. Then, having counted the Spaniards, and having done the things which I have related, the Indian returned to his Lord Atabalipa, and related to him all that he had seen, and he said that, in all, there were some one hundred and ninety Spaniards of whom about ninety were cavalry, and that they were robbers and wastrels who came as knights, mounted on sheep, as I have before declared,

and that they had caused to be prepared many ropes in order to tie them [the horses], because they came very full of fear, and [he said] that when they [the Spaniards] saw the troops which he [Atabalipa] had, they would flee. With this news Atabalipa took courage, and he held them to be of but small account, for had he held them in fear he would have sent troops to the slopes of the mountains, which is a slope of more than three leagues and very difficult, a place where there are many bad passes unknown to the Spaniards. With the third part of the troops which he had, and which he might have stationed in these passes, he could have killed all the Spaniards who were going up [into the mountains] or at least the greater portion of them, and those who escaped would have turned in a rout and would have been slain upon the road. Our Lord ordered matters thus because it was for His service that Christians entered this land. Then, the Marquis [went on] travelling by forced marches, and when we were come to the ascent into the moun-

tains, did not lack for a sufficiency of fear lest there should be soldiers in ambush who would deliver a surprise attack upon us. When we had issued from the mountains and had arrived at Caxamalca,<sup>65</sup> Atabalipa was at some baths which are something more than a league from the town of Caxamalca where he [Atabalipa] had established his Camp, and, according to what we learned, he had more than forty thousand Indian warriors. Then, this same day, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro sent Hernando de Soto with twenty cavalrymen to where Atabalipa was, [with orders to] say to him that he [Pizarro] had come on behalf of God and the King to preach to them and to have them as friends and to say other words of peace and friendship, and [to announce to Atabalipa] that he [Pizarro] was coming to see him. Then, having arrived at the place where Atabalipa was, he being in a small house which was kept for the Lord, together with other rooms, for his use when he went thither to rest and to bathe, and there was a great tank which they had built, very well made of

hewn stone, and to the tank came two pipes of water, one hot and the other cold, and there the one was tempered by the other whenever the Lord or his wives wished to bathe, and no other person dared to enter the water, under penalty of death. Then, having arrived, Hernando de Soto found him [Atabalipa], as I have said, with all the troops in readiness for war. Atabalipa was in this small house, as I have said, seated on his duo (*duho*, seat); a very fine thin mantle through which one could see was held by two women before him, and they covered him up with it so that no one should see him, for it is the custom of some of these Lords not to be seen save rarely by their vassals. When Soto had arrived upon his horse, like the rest, he [Atabalipa] ordered them to lower the mantle, and he listened to all that Soto said to him, which was all that he had been ordered to say, all of which was made clear to him by the interpreter Don Martinillo, one of the boys already mentioned. After having heard the message he replied, and he told Hernando de Soto to return and announce to the Mar-

quis and the other Christians that on the morrow he would go to the place where they were, and [he ordered that] they were to make reparation to him for the disrespect they had shown in taking some mattings from a room where his father, Guaina Capa, had been wont to sleep when he was alive, and that they were to repay all that they had taken between the bay of Sant Matheo and that spot, as well as all the food they had eaten, [and such repayment] they were to hold in readiness against his coming. Hearing this, Hernando de Soto was dismayed, and on a plain which was there, he [Atabalipa] caused a skirmish to be fought against the cavalry, and when the cavalry had barely come up to where the Indians were posted, the Indians rose up and fled in fear. When Soto had returned to Caxamalca, Atabalipa commanded that those Indians who had arisen and had been afraid should be put to death, as well as those of their caciques who were there and their children and women, so as to fill his troops with fear and so that none of them should take flight when the time came

to fight with the Christians. He [Pizarro?] and his captains made much of these cruelties, as will be related further on. Having returned, Soto gave the reply to the Marquis [and an account] of all that had befallen, and with a good deal of fear, they spent the whole night on guard. That same night Atabalipa despatched twenty thousand soldiers, under a captain of his called Lumenavi, with many ropes, to capture the rear-guard of the Spaniards, and secretly they [the Indians] awaited the time when they [the Spaniards] should flee so that they might attack them and tie them up, for they [the Indians] believed that when they saw so many troops the [Spanish] troops would rise up and take to flight.

Then the Spaniards spent the whole night on guard, as I have said, with a fair measure of fear, for Soto and those who were with him related what they had seen and the great number of troops which the Indian [Atabalipa] had and because they were without knowledge of how these Indians fought or of what valour was theirs, because up to that

time they had not fought with Indian warriors, save in Tumbez and on la Puna where the number of them did not go above six hundred. After dawn, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro arranged his troops, dividing the cavalry into two portions of which he gave the command of one to Hernando Pizarro and the command of the other to Hernando de Soto. In like manner he divided the infantry, he himself taking one part and giving the other to his brother Juan Pizarro. At the same time, he ordered Pedro de Candia with two or three infantrymen to go with trumpets to a small fort which is in the plaza of Caxamalca and to station themselves there with a small piece of ordnance which he carried in the field, and [it was arranged] that when all the Indians, and Atabalipa with them, had entered the plaza, they [the Spaniards] would make them [Candia and his men] a signal, after which the firing should begin and the trumpets should sound, and at the sound of the trumpets the cavalry should dash out of the large galpón where they were in readiness, and wherein many

more of them might have been hidden than there were in their troop. The galpón had many doors, all those on the plaza being large, so that they might easily allow those who were within to dash out mounted. At the same time, Don Francisco Pizarro and his brother Juan Pizarro were in another part of the same galpón so as to come out after the cavalry. Thus it was that all [the Spaniards] were in this galpón, without one of them being lacking. Nor did they go out into the plaza, because the Indians did not see what sort of troops they were and because it would put fear into their [the Indians'] hearts when they all came out together. All [the Spaniards] decked their horses' trappings with bells in order to fill the Indians with fear. When all was thus with the Spaniards, the news was carried to Atabalipa by some Indians who were spying about that all the Spaniards were waiting in readiness in a galpón, full of fear, and that none of them [dared to] appear on the plaza. And in very deed the Indians told the truth, for I have heard that many of the Spaniards

made water without knowing it out of sheer terror. On learning this, Atabalipa bade them give him food to eat, and he ordered that all his men should do likewise. These people had the custom of dining in the morning, and it was the same with all the natives of this kingdom. The Lords, having dined, were wont to spend the day drinking until the evening, when they supped very lightly, and the lowly Indians spent the day in toil. Then, having dined, finishing about the hour of high mass, he [Atabalipa] began to draw up his men and to approach nearer to Caxamalca. When his squadrons were formed in such wise that they covered the fields, and when he himself had mounted into a litter, he began to march; before him went two thousand Indians who swept the road by which he travelled, and these were followed by the warriors, half of whom were marching in the fields on one side of him and half on the other side, and neither half entered upon the road itself at all. In like manner, he bore with him the Lord of Chincha,<sup>66</sup> riding upon a litter, which seemed

to his men a wonderful honour; for no Indian, no matter how great a Lord he might be, ever appeared before him [the Inga] save with a burden upon his back and with naked feet. Then, too, so great was the amount of furniture of gold and silver which they bore, that it was a marvel to observe how the sun glinted upon it. Likewise, there marched before Atabalipa many Indians singing and dancing. This Lord required for his going over the half league between the baths where he was and [the city of] Caxamalca [the time between] the hour of high mass, as I have said, and three hours before nightfall. Then the [Indian] troops having arrived at the entrance of the plaza, the squadrons began to enter it to the accompaniment of great songs, and thus entering they occupied every part of the plaza. The Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, observing how Atabalipa had now drawn near to the plaza, sent Padre Fray Vicente de Valverde, first bishop of Cuzco, Hernando de Aldama, a good soldier, and Don Martinillo, the interpreter, with orders to go and speak

to Atabalipa and require it of him in the name of God and of the King that he subject himself to the law of our Lord Jesus Christ and to the service of His Majesty, and [to say] that the Marquis would regard him as a brother, and would not consent that any injury be done to him nor any damage be done to his land. When the Padre had arrived at the litter in which Atabalipa travelled, he spoke to him and told him the things he had come to say, and he preached unto him the matters pertaining to our holy faith, they being declared [unto the Inga] by the interpreter. The Padre carried in his hands a breviary from which he read the matters which he preached. Atabalipa asked him for it, and he [Valverde] closing it, handed it to him [Atabalipa]. When he had it in his hands he did not know how to open it, and he threw it upon the ground. He [Valverde] called upon Aldana to draw near to him [Atabalipa] and give him the sword, and Aldana drew it and brandished it, but did not wish to plunge it into the Inga. When this occurred he told them to get them thence,

as they were mere scurvy rogues, for he was going to have all of them put to death. Hearing this, the Padre returned and related all to the Marquis, and Atabalipa entered the plaza with all his pomp and the Lord of Chinchu in his train. When they had entered the plaza and had seen that no Spaniard made his appearance, he asked his captains where were these Christians who failed to appear, and they said to him: Lord, they are in hiding for very fear. The Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro seeing the two litters did not know which was that of Atabalipa, so he ordered Juan Pizarro his brother to attack one with the infantry and he would attack the other. This being ordered, he made the signal to Candia, who began to fire and at the same time caused the trumpets to sound, and the cavalry came out in troop formation, and the Marquis with the infantry, as has been said, and it all happened in such wise that, with the noise of the firing, and the blowing of the trumpets and the bells on the horses, the Indians were thrown into confusion and were cut to pieces.

The Spaniards attacked them and began to slay them, and so great was the fear which the Indians had, and so great was their anxiety to flee, that, not being able to pass through the gateway [of the plaza], they threw down a portion of the wall around the plaza, a portion more than two thousand paces long and more than an *estado* high. The cavalry pursued them as far as the baths where they wrought great havoc among them, and would have wrought much more but for the coming of night. To return now to Don Francisco Pizarro and his brother, they sallied, as has been said, with the infantry, and the Marquis attacked the litter of Atabalipa, and his brother that of the Lord of Chincha; [the latter of] whom they killed there in his litter, and the same fate would have been Atabalipa's had not the Marquis been there, because they were unable to pull him out of the litter, and although they slew the Indians who bore it, others at once took their places and held it aloft, and in this manner they spent a great time in overcoming and killing Indians, and out of weariness, a

Spaniard made as if to give him [Atabalipa] a blow with a knife in order to kill him, and the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro prevented it, and by his prevention the Marquis received a wound in the hand from the Spaniard who wished to slay Atabalipa. Because of this, the Marquis gave loud cries, saying: Let no one wound the Indian on pain of death. Hearing these words seven or eight Spaniards were spurred on, and they rushed upon the litter from one side, and, with great efforts, they turned it over on its side, and thus was Atabalipa made a prisoner, and the Marquis carried him off [with him] to his room, and there they set a guard over him who watched him day and night. Then, night having come, all the Spaniards gathered together and gave many thanks to our Lord for the mercies he had vouchsafed to them, and they were well content with having made prisoner the Lord, because, had they not taken him so, the land would not have been won as it was won.<sup>67</sup>

Atabalipa, seeing himself a prisoner, feared that they would kill him on the following day,

because he understood the Marquis to be favourable to his brother Guascar, who was now held prisoner by his [Atabalipa's] captains, and but shortly before had news of this reached him [Atabalipa]. And having the fear which I relate, on the morrow he asked them to call to him the interpreter, for he wished to speak to the Marquis. When Don Martinillo was come, he bade him say to the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro that [it would not be well] to kill him, and that he [Atabalipa] would give him much gold and silver. Hearing this, the Marquis ordered that he be brought before him, and he asked him what he said, and he [Atabalipa] repeated what he had said to the interpreter. The Marquis asked him: How much gold and silver would he give? Atabalipa said that he would fill with gold a room where the Marquis was, and that he would twice fill the big galpón, where, as I have said, the Spaniards collected together, with silver, as his ransom. In truth a great treasure! And having said these words, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, acting on the best

judgment of his captains and his own, caused a scrivener to be called who put down in writing what this Indian [Atabalipa] ordered, and at the same time he asked the Indian: On whose behalf he ordered this thing? And he [Atabalipa] replied: On behalf of all those [Spaniards] who were to be found in Caxamalca holding guard over him, and those who had routed his own forces. These Spaniards who were here in Caxamalca would be about two hundred in number. And this act and declaration made before a scrivener was the cause of his death, as will be related further on. When the act was drawn up, Atabalipa despatched his captains to cause a great treasure to be gathered together and sent to him.<sup>68</sup>

This command which I relate being given by this Indian, the Marquis made enquiries of him concerning his brother Guascar, asking where he was, and Atabalipa replied that his captains held him prisoner. The Marquis ordered him to have him [Guascar] brought thither alive, [and ordered that] they should not kill him [Guascar], for if it were done he

[Atabalipa] would himself be killed. Then, returning to the defeating of the Indians in Caxamalca, those who escaped went to the place where were those captains of Atabalipa who were holding Guascar prisoner, and they gave them tidings to the effect that Atabalipa had been killed by the Christians, and many soldiers with him. All this threw the captains and Indians into great confusion, and they did not know what was best to be done, for they had greatly ill-used Guascar in prison, and they had his shoulders bound by means of ropes to pieces of wood, and for this reason they dared not to let him go free, nor to confederate themselves with him, and if they had not thus treated him, they would have [released him], and if Guascar had been released, the winning of this land by the few Spaniards who were in it would have been jeopardized, for the Marquis had in Caxamalca [only] some two hundred men, and in Tangarala there remained about one hundred. While things were in the state I describe, and while these captains were in

great confusion, the messengers of Atabalipa arrived and gave them the tidings that he was alive, and told about the treasure which he had ordered, and [they said] that he ordered them to gather together all the treasure in the land and send it to him. When Guascar learned this, they relate that he said: That scoundrel Atabalipa, where is this gold and silver which he would give to the Christians? Does he not know that it is all mine? I myself shall give it to them, then they will kill him. Upon learning this, Challicuchima, captain-general of Atabalipa, secretly sent him [Atabalipa] a message to inform him of what Guascar was saying, and what he saw would be his fate. When Atabalipa knew that which his captain had sent to tell him, and what Guascar had said, he determined to carry out a stratagem worthy of a sagacious man, which this Indian certainly was, and it befell that one day, when the Marquis sent to invite him to dine with him, as it was his custom to do, Atabalipa pretended to be weeping in deep affliction. Learning of this, the

Marquis went to see him in order to find out the cause of it, and when he asked him [Atabalipa] about it, he weepingly refused to tell. Finally the Marquis ordered him to speak out. He replied: I am thus because you are about to kill me. The Marquis bade him have no fear and bade him tell his trouble, for he would not be slain. He [Atabalipa] finally said: Lord, you gave me orders that my brother Guascar be not killed, because you would kill me were it done. My captains, without my knowing of it, have slain him, and for this reason I am in the understanding that you will now kill me. Then the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, not understanding the trick, turned to him to say: Is the Indian in very truth dead? He said that it was so. The Marquis reassured him, and told him to be without fear since they had slain him [Guascar] without his [Atabalipa's] knowing of it, and [Pizarro said] that no harm would come to him, nor would he be put to death. Then, being assured of his life, Atabalipa, with the trickery already related, quickly

sent a messenger to Challicuchima [with orders] that Guascar be slain at once, and so they killed him at Guambos, or, as some say, at Guanun, and they say that his body was hurled into a river. Learning of this, Atabalipa sent orders to his captains Challicuchima and Quizquiz [to the effect] that Challicuchima should station himself in Xauxa with half of the warriors, and that Quizquiz should go to Cuzco and establish himself there with the other half of the warriors which they had. This came to be known after the death of Atabalipa, and after two other deaths, those of two brothers of his who had come to shelter and protect the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, and who had been captains of Guascar. Now I shall relate the death of these two brothers, and shall tell about the war between Guascar and Atabalipa, as well as some other matters about this Atabalipa and his sagacity.<sup>69</sup>

While these two brothers of his, one called Guamantito and the other Mayta Yupangui, were with the Marquis, they asked him for

permission to go to Cuzco.<sup>70</sup> The Marquis told them to take great care that they be not killed there, and they replied that, as they were of his [Guascar's] house, they had nothing to fear and that no one would dare to slay them. Then the Marquis gave them permission, and Atabalipa learned of it and said to him: Lord, give not this permission to these brothers of mine, for they are little liked up there [in Cuzco], and if they are killed, you will say that I ordered it. The Marquis told this to the two brothers and held back their going for some days, but so much did they persist in [their wish] to go that the Marquis gave them permission. And when it was granted, they asked him for a sword, saying that with it they would defend themselves from all their enemies. The Marquis gave it to them, and once more Atabalipa besought him not to let them go. And when the Indians had set forth, Atabalipa despatched [orders] that they be killed, and so these two brothers were put to death.

I shall relate the war between Atabalipa

and Guascar as I heard it from many Indians and important Lords of this land. In this kingdom there were five Lords Ingas before the era in which the Spaniards entered it. These began to conquer and rule this land, making themselves Kings of all of it, because before these Lords vanquished it all the land was divided into behetrias, although there were some Lords who had small peoples subject to their government, but these were few, and so the behetrias were ever bringing war the one against the other. These Indians say that an Inga arose [and became] the first Lord. Some say that he came forth from the island of Titicaca, which is an isle in a lake in the Collao which is seventy leagues in circuit, and in it, at times, there are storms as in the sea. A small fish, somewhat more than a palm long, is raised in the lake. The water is a little saltish. This lake drains into another which is formed in the province of Carangas and Quillacas, almost as great as this other [lake]. No outlet is to be found, nor [is it known] by what way it is drained. It must be under-

stood to reach the sea by underground channels, because, to judge by the great quantity of water which enters it, it can not be otherwise. Other Indians say that this first Lord came forth from Tambo. This Tambo is in Condesuios, six leagues, more or less, from Cuzco. This first Inga, so they say, was called Inga Vira Cocha.<sup>71</sup> They say that he conquered, won and subjected to his rule the country for thirty leagues around Cuzco, where this first Inga established himself. This Inga Vira Cocha left one son who was called Topa Inga Yupangui Pachacuti who, they say, won one hundred leagues, [as well as other sons] Guaina Inga and Inga Amaro Inga. And these two successors conquered as far as Caxamalca. Guaina Capa, who was the fifth descendant of these, went conquering as far as Quito, and his captains, in another direction, as far as Chile and as far as the bay of Sant Mateo, and it is almost a thousand leagues from one region to the other. These Lords had the custom of taking their own sisters as wives, because they said that no one

was worthy of them save themselves. There was a lineage of these sisters who descended by the same line as these Lords, and the sons of these women were the ones who inherited the kingdom, always the oldest son. Then, besides these sisters, these Lords had all the daughters of the caciques of the kingdom for their concubines, and these waited upon the great sisters, and in number they were much more than four thousand. Thus all the Indian women who looked comely to them were divided into lots by these sisters who, themselves, were many. The rule which these Ladies observed in serving their brothers and husbands was that one of them should serve a week with that portion of the Indian women already mentioned which was allotted to her, and she slept with him herself, or else the Indian girl who pleased him most did so, and in this way all the sisters served their turn until they came back to the first one again. These sisters lived in certain great inclosures surrounded by many rooms and [provided with] guards and porters, and those who did

not serve until their time came, occupied themselves only with dances, jollities and orgies. These Ladies had, or else it was given to them, everything they wished and asked for. While this Guainacapa was conquering around Quito, they say he dallied in winning it [Quito] during more than ten years, and he had this Atabalipa by the daughter of the chief Lord of this province of Quito.<sup>72</sup> Having finished the conquest, Guainacapa commanded that a fortress be built in memory of the victory which he had won, and thus it was the custom to do in all the provinces which they gained. While they were engaged upon this work, there broke out among them a plague of smallpox, never seen among them before, which killed many Indians. And while Guaina Capa was shut up, engaged in the fast which he was wont to make, which took the form of being alone in a room without access to any woman, and without eating either salt or aji, with which they dress their food, and without drinking chicha (he was thus for nine days, at other times for three),

while Guaina Capa was thus at his fast they relate that three Indians never seen before came in to him. They were very small, like dwarfs. They said to him: Inga, we are come to summon you. And when he saw this vision [and heard] this which they said to him, he cried out to his servants, and as they entered, these three [dwarfs] already mentioned disappeared, and no one saw them save Guaina Capa, and he said to his servants: Who are these dwarfs who came to summon me? And they answered unto him: We have not seen them. Then said Guaina Capa: I am about to die. And at once he fell ill of the smallpox. While he was thus very ill, they sent messengers to Pachacama who were the chasques, that is, post-runners whom they were wont to station a league apart [along the roads]. One Indian would run one league, and on seeing him another, who was in waiting, would come out upon the road to meet him, and while he who was coming was still running in this manner, he gave great cries, telling what his message was, so that it was all told by the time he

reached the place where the other was, and so he who heard it set out without hearing more, and in this manner the message went from Cuzco to Quito, which is almost . . . leagues, in five days. And in this manner they sent to ask Pachacama: What should be done for the health of Guainacapa? And the wizards who spoke with the demon put the question to his idol, and the demon spoke through the idol and bade them take him out into the sun, and soon he would become well. Then, when they did so, matters went the other way, and on being placed in the sun, this Guainacapa died. The Indians say that he was a great friend of the poor, and he ordered that great care should be taken of them throughout the land. They say that he was very affable to his servants, and very grave. They say that he was wont to drink much more than three Indians together, but that they never saw him drunk, and that, when his captains and chief Indians asked him how, though drinking so much, he never got intoxicated, they say that he replied that he

drank for the poor of whom he supported many. And had this Guainacapa been alive when we Spaniards entered this land, it would have been impossible for us to win it, for he was much beloved by all his vassals. Ten years had passed since his death when we entered the land. And likewise, had the land not been divided by the wars between Guascar and Atabalipa, we would not have been able to enter or win the land unless we could gather one thousand Spaniards for the task, and at that time it was impossible to get together even five hundred Spaniards on account of their scanty numbers and the evil reputation which the country had, as I have said. Guainacapa being dead, they raised up as Lord Guascar his son, to whom the kingdom [rightfully] belonged, and who was in Cuzco, for there his father Guainacapa had left him. But after some years had passed by, and Atabalipa got his growth, and he was in Quito, where his father begot him, as has been said, he had become very manful and bellicose, and for this reason they advised Guascar to

summon him and keep him by him [at court]. When Guascar sent to call him, Atabalipa replied to the messengers of his brother [saying that], as he had to have an Inga there [in Quito] as a governor, they might say [to Guascar] that he [Atabalipa] was there [for the purpose]. Then, Guascar being counselled by his vassals not to allow it, lest he [Atabalipa] rise up in revolt, he [Guascar] sent a second time to summon him, and he replied in the same manner, and the third time he sent to call him he [Guascar] added that if he did not at once obey the orders given to him, he [Guascar] would send for him. The vassals he [Atabalipa] had in Quito through the family of his mother, as I have said, advised him to arise, as he was the Lord, and because, if he went to Cuzco, he would kill his brother, for he also was a son of Guainacapa, like Guascar, albeit a bastard in order to inherit the kingdom from those to whom it belonged, as I have related above, and [they said] that [the rightful heirs] would aid him and would make him the Lord, for it

was known that the men of Quito were the most valiant Indians of this kingdom, as indeed they were. Atabalipa, seeing the will of his vassals, caused himself to be raised up as Lord over them and over the Cañares who aided him.<sup>73</sup>

When Guascar received the news of the uprising of his brother Atabalipa, he sent his captains against him with warriors, and at Tomebamba there was a battle between the two forces, at which Atabalipa was made a prisoner by the men of Guascar, and after they had placed him in a house under guard, one night he broke loose, saying that the sun, who was his father, had set him free, and so do all these Lords declare that they were the sons of the sun. [In truth] it was on account of the insufficient guard which was put over him, for until midnight these Indians keep watch vigilantly, but from midnight onward they all go to sleep, and we Spaniards have seen this during our experiences while conquering the country, especially in the region of Cuzco. Having got free, Atabalipa

set himself to re-forming his troops, and he went on ever victorious. These Indians say that the reason why Guascar was but little liked was that he was very grave, and he never let himself be seen by his people, nor did he ever come out to eat with them in the plaza, as it was the custom of former Lords to do sometimes, although others say that the chief reason which led to his downfall was that which I shall here set forth. These Lords had the law and custom of taking that one of their Lords who died and embalming him, wrapping him up in many fine clothes, and to these Lords they allotted all the service which they had had in life, in order that these bundles [mummies] might be served in death as well as they had been in life. Their service of gold and silver was not touched, nor was anything else which they had, nor were those who served them [removed from] the house without being replaced, and provinces were set aside to give them support. The Lord who entered upon a new reign had to take new servants. His vessels had to be of

wood and pottery until there was time to make them of gold and silver, and always those who began to reign carried out all this, and it was for this reason that there was so much treasure in this land, because, as I have said, he who succeeded to the kingdom always hastened to make better vessels and houses [than his predecessors]. And as the greater part of the people, treasure, expenses and vices were under the control of the dead, each dead man had allotted to him an important Indian, and likewise an Indian woman, and whatever these wanted they declared it to be the will of the dead one. Whenever they wished to eat, to drink, they said that the dead ones wished to do that same thing. If they wished to go and divert themselves in the houses of other dead folk, they said the same, for it was customary for the dead to visit one another, and they held great dances and orgies, and sometimes they went to the house of the living, and sometimes the living came to their. At the same time as the dead people, many [living], as well men as women,

came, saying that they wished to serve, and this was not forbidden them by the living, because all were at liberty to serve these [the dead], each one serving the dead person he desired to serve. These dead folk had great number of the chief people [in their service], as well men as women, because they lived very licentiously, the men having the women as concubines, and drinking and eating very lavishly. I came to understand this when we first entered Cuzco, for the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro sent Don Diego de Almagro, Hernando de Soto and Mango Inga after Quizquiz who was carrying all the stolen earth [gold] to Quito, and just before setting out a captain of Mango Inga's who was to go with him came to the Marquis to ask him to send and ask it of one of these dead men that a relative of his who was in his service be given to him [the captain] for wife. The Marquis sent me [with orders to] go with Don Martin, the interpreter, to speak to this dead man and ask on his [Pizarro's] behalf that the Indian woman be given to this captain. Then

I, who believed that I was going to speak to some living Indian, was taken to a bundle, [like] those of these dead folk, which was seated in a litter, which held him and on one side was the Indian spokesman who spoke for him, and on the other was the Indian woman, both sitting close to the dead man. Then, when we were arrived before the dead one, the interpreter gave the message, and being thus for a short while in suspense and in silence, the Indian man looked at the Indian woman (as I understand it, to find out her wish). Then, after having been thus as I relate it for some time, both the Indians replied to me that it was the will of the Lord the dead one that she go, and so the captain already mentioned carried off the Indian woman, since the Apoo, for thus they called the Marquis, wished it.<sup>74</sup>

Returning now to Guascar, [it is said that] one day becoming angry with these dead people, he said that he was going to have them all buried, and was going to take away from them all that they possessed, and that there were to be no more dead, but only living,

for they [the dead] had all that was best in his kingdom. Since, as I have said, the greater part of the chief people were with these [the dead] on account of the many vices which they had there, and they began to hate Guascar, and they say that the captains whom he sent against Atabalipa let themselves be conquered and that others deserted and passed over to him, and for this reason could Atabalipa conquer, for otherwise neither he nor his people were sufficient to vanquish a village, much less a whole kingdom, and so was Guascar taken prisoner, as I have said, by the captains of Atabalipa, and slain.

Returning now to the imprisonment of Atabalipa, as I have said, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro kept him prisoner, awaiting the time when the treasure which he had promised should be assembled, and also awaiting the time when more Spaniards should come to the land, because he did not dare to press on further with only those whom he had, especially as he had to keep guard over Atabalipa, because in accordance with the degree in which

the natives feared and obeyed him, it was not possible to go up to Cuzco without freeing him, otherwise so many people would attack the Spaniards in the many bad passes which there are, that they would kill them all. While matters were as I tell them, Atabalipa advised the Marquis, in order to gather the treasure which he had ordered more speedily, that it would be necessary to send a captain with men to Pachacama, because, said he, this idol of Pachacama had more treasure than he [the Inga] had sent for. And so he sent to call upon the wizards who had charge of the guard of Pachacama, and he had them brought and held as prisoners, ordering them to provide him with another ransom such as he had ordered.<sup>75</sup> Also he asked that they give to him two Spaniards in order to send them to Cuzco in order to hasten on the bringing of the treasure. Hearing what it was that Atabalipa asked for, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro at once despatched two Spaniards to Cuzco, one being Martin Bueno, and the other Pedro Martin de Moguer, with an orejon<sup>76</sup>

whom Atabalipa gave them in order that he might guide them in safety and might give orders that everything they asked for should be yielded. These two Spaniards being despatched, the Marquis determined to send to Pachacama his brother Hernando Pizarro, with fifty horse, and that from there he should go up to Xauxa, and that, by means of fair words and flatteries, he should bring back with him Challicuchima, a captain of Atabalipa's and the most important one he had. And having determined upon it, he talked with Atabalipa about it, and said to him: I wish to send my brother to Pachacama with some Spaniards. Look you to it well that if any Indian rise up against them or offer opposition, I shall kill you. Then I want him to go to Xauxa and bring back with him Challicuchima, your captain, because I have a desire to see him, who, they tell me, is very valiant. Atabalipa replied: Lord, let your brother go and have no fear, for none will dare to harm him while I live, and let him take with him these guardians of Pachacama in order that

they may give him the treasure, and let them carry it [back] in order to fulfill what I have ordered. Then, when Hernando Pizarro and the men who were to go with him were in readiness, they came to take leave of the Marquis, and Atabalipa ordered that the wizards of Pachacama be summoned, and there, in the presence of the Marquis and his brother, he spoke to them, saying: Go with this brother of the Apoo, and give to him all the treasure you have [belonging to] Pachacama your idol, and, as I have commanded that a treasure of gold be obtained, so may you obtain two such, for that Pachacama of yours is no God, and even though he be so, give it, nevertheless, and all the more so since he is not [a God]. The Marquis, on learning from the interpreter what it was that Atabalipa had said, asked him why he had said that that Pachacama of theirs was not a God, since they held him to be so. Atabalipa replied: Because he is a liar. The Marquis asked him in what respect he had been a liar. Atabalipa replied: You should know, Lord, that when my father was sick in

Quito, he sent to ask him [Pachacama] what should be done for his health. He [Pachacama] commanded that he be taken out into the sun, and when he was taken out, he died; Guascar, my brother, sent to ask him [Pachacama] who was to win the victory, he or I, and [Pachacama] said that he would, and I won it. When you came, I sent to ask him who was destined to conquer, you or I, and he sent to tell me that I was. You conquered. Therefore he is a liar, and is no God, for he lies. The Marquis said to him that he [Atabalipa] knew much. Atabalipa replied that [even] shopkeepers know much. Hearing this, the Marquis told him that Pachacama was the devil who spoke to them in that place and led them into snares, for God is in heaven, and [he told him] other articles of our holy faith. This having taken place, Hernando Pizarro set forth with the guardians of the idol of Pachacama, and when he arrived there he found that they had carried off all the treasure and had hidden it, and out of what remained he sent some two hundred thousand

pesos [back to Pizarro]. Thence he went up to Xauxa,<sup>77</sup> where he found Challicuchima with many warriors. He came out in peace, but he held ready in the plaza of Xauxa many lances, and on the points of some were placed heads of Indians, and on others tongues, and on others hands, so that it was a fearful thing to see the cruelties which he had committed and was committing. When he had been in Xauxa some days, Hernando Pizarro said to Challicuchima that he [must] make ready to come and see his Lord Atabalipa, and he did so, and came away with him, because Atabalipa had sent to order him to do so. Now to return to the two Spaniards who went to Cuzco, they found Quizquiz there [acting with] no less cruelty than his companion had shown in Xauxa. These two Spaniards related that these were the things which Quizquiz did. Every morning he had brought to him many birds, alive and with their plumes untouched, and when they were given to him, he let them loose and let them fly away. And any Indian who angered him

was made to eat so much aji that he died, and this notwithstanding the many other deaths which he caused and had executed upon many captains and important Indians of Guascar's party. Then there was collected a great deal of gold which Quizquiz assembled by means of causing certain plates to be taken from the house of the Sun, for they were laid on over the stones of the wall and covered the whole front of the house, and at the same time [he had brought] a bench of gold encasing a great stone which had been worked into the form of a bench on which they said the Sun was wont to sit down. [And likewise was asked for] a bundle of gold which they had formed [this never made its appearance], and some vessels of gold and silver. This bench the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro took for himself, as a jewel worthy of a captain-general. It was worth upwards of seventy thousand castellanos. And with this [treasure] the Spaniards returned to Caxamalca.

Hernando Pizarro and these two Spaniards

having returned to Caxamalca, 'as I have said, we received news to the effect that Don Diego de Almagro was coming from Panama with reënforcements, and that at Puerto Viejo other Spaniards, who came from Nicaragua, had joined forces with him, and [we heard] that in all they were more than one hundred, because Almagro remained in Panama when the Marquis came to conquer this land, and he had not wished to come until he had news of the greatness of it. And the same thing was true of the officials of the King, who had remained in Tangarala, as I have said, for now they also came to Caxamalca. When Almagro and the troops already mentioned arrived, Atabalipa was disturbed, and he understood that he was destined to die. And when an Indian was dining with the Marquis, he asked him how he intended to distribute the Indians among the Spaniards. The Marquis told him that he meant to give a cacique to each Spaniard. [Then] Atabalipa enquired whether the Spaniards were to have each one his cacique. The Marquis told him no, but

said that he [Atabalipa] would have to build villages where the Spaniards should be together. Hearing this, Atabalipa said: I shall die. I wish to tell you, Apoo, what the Christians will have to do with these Indians in order that they make them serve them. If a Spaniard be given a thousand Indians, he will have to slay half of them before he can make the rest serve him. The Marquis reassured him, saying that he would give him the province of Quito for himself, and that the Christians would take the land between Caxamalca and Cuzco. Then, as Atabalipa was a canny Indian, he understood that he was deceiving him [Pizarro], and he formed a great friendship with Hernando Pizarro who had promised him that he would not consent to his death, and therefore Atabalipa said that he had seen no Spaniard who seemed to him so much of a Lord as Hernando Pizarro. Matters being in the state which I describe, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro determined to send his brother Hernando Pizarro to Spain with the treasure of His Majesty.

Atabalipa, learning of the departure of Hernando Pizarro, wept, saying that they would surely kill him, and he was thus [disconsolate] because Hernando Pizarro was gone away and [that part of] the treasure which had arrived was distributed. To [each of] the cavalry were allotted eight thousand pesos and to the infantry four thousand. This was being paid in full, for they were but few to whom the shares were given, and to some of the cavalry a share and a half were given, and to others a share and three-fourths, and to the infantry three-fourths or half of a share was given, and to very few a whole share, for [the treasure] was thus distributed in conformity with the service of each man and [the quality of] the horse which he had. But Almagro wished that it be not so, for he desired that he and his companion [Pizarro] each take a half of the whole, and that they give to each Spaniard one thousand, or at most two thousand, pesos. In this the Marquis was always most Christianly, for [he did not allow] anyone to be robbed of what he merited. For this distri-

bution was made among all the Spaniards who entered Caxamalca [and took part in] the capture of Atabalipa, as I say, to all Spaniards who entered that place with the Marquis, in accordance with what had been proclaimed. And to those who came afterwards nothing was given. On account of this, a great confusion burst out among the officials of the King who had come with Almagro, for they said that the treasure which Atabalipa had ordered was without limits, and that if the proclamation which had been made was preserved, they would never have anything. The officials and Almagro agreed, therefore, that Atabalipa should die, and they settled it among themselves that once he was dead, an end would be made of the proclamation about the treasure. Then they said to the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro that it was not fitting that Atabalipa should live, for if he were released, His Majesty would lose the land and all the Spaniards would be slain, and indeed, had not this been maliciously plotted as it is here related, they would have been right, for,

with him [Atabalipa] at large, it would have been impossible to win the land. But the Marquis did not wish to come to this decision. Seeing this, the officials made many demands upon him, setting the service of His Majesty before all else. While matters were thus, a demon availed himself of an interpreter who was called Felipillo, one of the boys whom the Marquis had taken to Spain, and at present he was an interpreter and was enamoured of a wife of Atabalipa's, and in order to win her, he gave the Marquis to understand that Atabalipa was causing the assemblage of many troops in order to kill the Spaniards in Caxas. Learning this, the Marquis seized Challicuchima who was at large, and he made enquiries concerning this army which the interpreter said was being assembled, and although he denied it, Felipillo said the opposite, turning the sense of the words of him who was asked about the matter. Then the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro determined to send Soto to Caxas to find out if any assemblage of troops was being made, for certainly the Marquis

had no wish to kill him [Atabalipa]. Almagro and the officials, seeing the departure of Soto, hastened to the Marquis with many requests, and, as the interpreter on his part aided them with his slyness, they in time convinced the Marquis that Atabalipa should die, for the Marquis was very zealous in the service of His Majesty. And so they filled him with apprehension, and against his will he sentenced Atabalipa to death, commanding that they give him the garrote, and that when he was dead he should be burned because he had his sisters for wives.<sup>78</sup> Certainly these gentlemen had read and understood very few laws, for they passed this sentence upon an infidel who had never been preached to. Then Atabalipa wept, and he besought them not to kill him, for there was not an Indian in the land who would stir without his command, [and he asked] what had they to fear, holding him, as they did, a prisoner? [And he said] that if they were doing this thing for gold or silver, he would give them twice as much as had already been ordered. I saw the Marquis

weep with sorrow at not being able to grant him his life, for he certainly feared the exactions [of the officials] and the risk which there was in the land should he [Atabalipa] be set free. This Atabalipa had given his wives and Indians to understand that, if they [the Spaniards] did not burn his body, he would return to them, for the Sun his father would resuscitate him. Then, when they took him out into the plaza to give him the garrote, padre fray Vicente de Valverde, already mentioned, preached to him, bidding him become a Christian. And he asked if they would burn him should he become a Christian, and they told him no, and he said that if they would not burn him, he would be baptized, and so Fray Vicente baptized him, and they gave him the garrote, and on another day they interred him in the church which we Spaniards have in Caxamalca.<sup>79</sup> This was done before Soto returned to report upon what he had found to have been ordered. When he came, he brought the news that neither had he seen anything nor was there anything, and on

account of this, the Marquis sorrowed deeply for having killed him [Atabalipa], and Soto was even more grieved, for, said he, and he was right, it would have been much better to send him to Spain and [he said] that he would [gladly] have taken the duty of setting him upon the sea. And certainly this would have been the best thing that could have been done with the Indian, for it was not suitable that he remain in the land. Also it was understood that he would not have lived many days had they sent him, for he was very much revered and a very great Lord [and the humiliation would have killed him]. I shall relate now some of the things I saw and heard.

This Atabalipa was a well disposed Indian of fine person, of medium size, not too fat, beautiful of face and grave, with red eyes, a man much feared by his people. I was told that the Lord of Guailas asked him for leave to go to visit his land, and a limited time in which to go and return was conceded to him. He dallied somewhat longer, and when he returned, I being present, with a present of

fruit from his land, he began to tremble in such a manner that he could not stand upon his feet. Atabalipa raised his head a little and, smiling, made him a sign to go away. When they took him [Atabalipa] out to kill him, all the natives who were in the plaza, prostrated themselves upon the ground, letting themselves fall like drunken men.

This Indian was served by his wives in the order which I have already related, a sister waiting upon him ten or eight days, with a great number of daughters of Lords who served these sisters, changing every eight days. These women were ever with him in order to serve him, for no Indian man entered the [room] where he was and if one such came from some distant place, he had to enter barefoot and bearing a burden. And when his captain Challicuchima came with Hernando Pizarro and went in to see him, he entered as I say, barefoot and with a burden, and he threw himself down at his feet and kissed them, weeping. Atabalipa, with a serene face, said to him: You are welcome here,

Challicuchima, meaning: You are well come, Challicuchima. This Indian [Atabalipa] wore upon his head certain llautos, which are braids made of coloured wool half a finger thick and a finger wide, made in the manner of a crown, but round and not having points, being a hand's breadth wide and encircling the head. At the front was a fringe sewed on this llauto, a hand's breadth or more in width, made of very fine scarlet wool, very evenly cut, and adorned with small golden tubes cunningly adjusted up to the middle [of each cord in the fringe]. This wool was spun, and below the tubes was untwisted, and that was the part that fell upon the forehead, for the little tubes were enough to fill up the whole fringe. This fringe fell to just above the eyebrows, and it was a finger in thickness and covered the whole forehead.<sup>80</sup> And all these Lords went about with their hair short, and the orejones wore it as if upon a comb. They wore very fine soft clothes, they and their sisters whom they had for wives, and their vassals, important orejones, or those whom the Lords made so, and

all the rest, wore coarse clothing. This Lord put his mantle over his head, fastening it under the chin and covering his ears. He did this in order to cover up one ear which had been torn, for when the men of Guascar captured him, they tore it off. This Lord dressed in very fine clothes. While he was eating one day, and these Ladies already mentioned were bringing him his dinner, and they placed it before him upon some thin small green rushes, he was seated upon a stool of wood somewhat more than a palm high. This stool was made of beautifully coloured wood, and they always kept it covered up with a very delicate mantle, even though he might be sitting upon it. These rushes, already mentioned, were always spread before him when he wished to eat, and on them they placed all the food in vessels of gold, silver and pottery, and that [dish] which stirred his appetite he indicated, and, taking it up, one of the said ladies would hold it in her hand while he ate. One day while he was eating in this manner in my presence, and when he raised a portion of the food to his

mouth, a drop fell upon the clothing which he wore, and giving his hand to the Indian woman, he raised himself and went into his room to don other clothing, and when he came back he wore a shirt and a mantle of dark brown. Coming up to him, I felt the mantle, which was smoother than silk, and I said to him: Inga, of what is this soft clothing made? And he said to me: It is made of birds who fly by night in Puerto Viejo and Tumbez and who bite the Indians. On my saying to him: How is it and where could so much batskin be gathered? he replied: Those dogs of Tumbez and Puerto Viejo, what else have they to do than to capture these animals so as to make clothes for my father? And thus it is that the bats of those parts bite the Indians and Spaniards and horses by night, and they suck up so much blood that it is a mysterious thing. And so it was made certain that this clothing was of bat wool, and so the clothing was of the same colour as they are, for in Puerto Viejo and Tumbez and their regions there are great numbers of them. One

day it befell that an Indian came to complain that a Spaniard had taken some garments of Atabalipa. The Marquis sent me to go and find out who it was, and to summon the Spaniard in order that he might be punished. The Indian took me to a hut where there was a great quantity of chests, for the Spaniard was now gone away, and he [the Indian] told me that it was from there that he had taken a garment of the Lord's. And, on my asking him what he had there in those chests, he showed me some in which there was everything which Atabalipa had touched with his hands, and garments which he had rejected, in fine, everything which he had touched. I asked him: For what purpose do you have all these things here? He answered that it was in order to burn them, for each year they burned all these things, because all that was touched by the Lords, who were sons of the Sun, must be burned, made into ashes and thrown into the air, for no one must be allowed to touch it. Standing guard over these things was an important man who guarded the things

and collected them from the women who served [the sovereigns]. These Lords slept on the ground on large mattresses of cotton. They had large counterpanes of wool with which they covered themselves. I have not seen in all of this [land of] Pirú an Indian like this Atabalipa, nor one equal to him in ferocity and authority.

Atabalipa now having died, as I have told it, his sisters and wives had been given to understand that if they [the Spaniards] did not burn him, he would return to this world. Then, a number of troops, a sister of his, and some Indian women having been hung, so that they might go to the other world to serve Atabalipa, two sisters remained, and they went about giving utterance to great lamentations accompanied by the beating of drums and by singing, and by accounts of the deeds of their husband. Then they halted until the Marquis came out of his room, and, coming to where Atabalipa had been wont to be, they asked me to let them go in, and, having entered, they began to call Atabalipa, seeking

for him very gently in the 'corners. Then, perceiving that he did not reply to them, and uttering great moans, they went out. When they had gone out I asked them for what they were seeking, and they told me what I have related. I disillusioned them, and I told them that the dead did not come back, and so they [the sisters] went away. It was the custom among these Indians that the women should wail for their husbands every year, and the kinsmen carrying the vestments and arms [of the dead] before, while many Indian women laden with chicha went behind [the wives], and other women provided with drums upon which they played while dancing and relating the deeds of the dead, they were wont to go from hill to hill and from place to place wherever the dead, while still in life, had gone, and after becoming weary, they sat down and drank, and, having rested, they wailed again until all the chicha was drunk.

After the death of Atabalipa, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro raised up as Lord Tubalipa, a son of Guainacapa and a brother

of Guascar, to whom the sovereignty rightfully was due.<sup>81</sup> This man had come to see Atabalipa when he was in prison, and he pretended to be very friendly [to the Spaniards], and he feigned illness throughout the time when Atabalipa was not leaving his room. He did this in fear lest Atabalipa order him slain, as he had the rest of his brothers. Then, having been raised up as Lord, in conformity with [the laws of] the natives, and while he was eating one day, Challicuchima being with him, Challicuchima pledged him with a cup of chicha, for they had this custom of pledging thus, and Challicuchima put poison in the chicha of Tubalipa, in such a way that he consumed it, and he came to die at Xauxa at the end of seven or eight months. These Indians knew herbs by means of which they can kill at the end of as many months or years as they desired. Tubalipa having been raised up as Lord, as I say, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro commanded that all the troops make ready to go to Xauxa, saying that thenceforward all the treasure which should be found

would be for all. This gave contentment to those who came with Almagro, and all prepared themselves for the departure. Having set out from Caxamalca, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro with all his troops and with the new Lord, Tubalipa, and Challicuchima under guard, we went journeying as far as Guamachuco. Arrived there, they were not given Indian [bearers] to enable them to pass onward, because Challicuchima had secretly ordered that it be so, and because he was more feared in the land than the new Lord already mentioned. Challicuchima did this for two reasons: one was that if it were so, they [the Indians] would honour Atabalipa [Tubalipa?] less, and so he [Challicuchima] said that if he were to come with us, the very stones would turn themselves into Indians. The other reason was that [he wished] to kill certain caciques with whom he was angered, as it became clear at this point that he was, for, while talking to the Marquis, he said to him: Look, Lord, how slight account they take of Tubalipa, for they have not even made ready the tambos. But

allow me to rule, and you shall see how well everything will be made ready. The Marquis said to him: Do whatever you wish. Having this permission, Challicuchima summoned to him all the caciques of this region of Guamachuco,<sup>82</sup> and, causing them to bring as many large stones as there were caciques and chiefs, he had them placed in the plaza in orderly array, and then [he ordered] all the caciques to stretch themselves out upon the ground and place their heads upon the stones. Then, taking in his hands another stone, as heavy a one as he could lift, he hit the first [cacique] upon the head with it, and as he [the cacique] had a soft head, [the blow] flattened it out like a tortilla. And thus he [Challicuchima] wished to do to all the rest [of the caciques]. Hearing of this piece of cruelty, the Marquis sent straightway to order that it be carried no further, and thus was the evilness of this man [Challicuchima] understood. And certainly there was very bad preparation in all the tambos while he was alive, for, out of fear of him, they did not obey Tubalipa. And

these natives of Caxamalca and Guamachuco and their environs are well disposed folk. They wore their hair long, and wound strands of red wool around their heads, and they were idolaters, like the rest already mentioned, holding the Sun to be the chief god by command of the Ingas, for these last adored the Sun. Passing hence, we went by forced marches to Guailas. The people of Guailas are dirty folk to judge by what the natives say of them, *porque se decia dellos que comian la semilla que la muger echaba cuando se ayuntaban con ella*. The character of this people is thus. They, also, wear their hair long, and they have on their heads certain garlands which they call pillos, as well as very white slings wound about the head. From this place we went to Atabillos, Tarama and Bombon, which is another province. These people wear ribbons around their heads and long hair. These ribbons are painted yellow and red. From here we passed on to Xauxa where we had a reëncounter with the war-

riours whom Challicuchima had left there when he went to Caxamalca. These Indians fled, setting fire to a great galpón which was in Xauxa and to other storehouses [containing] foodstuffs. They burned this galpón for the purpose of hiding a certain treasure of gold which they were leaving there, in order that it might be obliterated by the fire, and so, when the fire had died down, certain pitchers of gold and silver and vases were found [in the ruins], although it was later understood that another treasure of gold had been sent for hiding to Lunaguana, that being a valley near Xauxa, but hidden away from the road. These warriors withdrew toward Cuzco and joined forces with those of Quizquiz, although there were certain skirmishes upon the road, as I shall tell further on.<sup>83</sup>

We having thus arrived at this valley of Xauxa, the Marquis halted us here for some days in order that the troops might rest, and in order to examine this locality of Xauxa, with a view to establishing in it a settlement, which was done, that being the second village

which was founded [by the Spaniards] in this kingdom, and afterwards it was moved to Lima, where it is now established, in order to have the port near at hand. While we were stopping several days in this place, Tubalipa died of the love-potions which Chalicuchima gave him in Caxamalca, as I have said. And after having rested his troops, the Marquis determined to leave some Spaniards here, and so it was done, though the actual foundation was not made until he returned from Cuzco. This having been settled upon, he commanded that the troops who were to go to Cuzco should be made ready, ordering Soto to go ahead three or four days' marches with some light-armed troops and to keep him [Pizarro] always informed of what there was ahead. And thus we set out, the one group and the other. These natives of Xauxa are in two groups, one called Xauxas, the other Guancas. All wear their hair long, wound in the manner of a fillet around the head and neatly trimmed. The Xauxas wear fillets of red a hand's breadth wide; the Guancas wear black ones.

Their language is the common one which they call Guichuasimí,<sup>84</sup> which is the tongue which the Lord commanded them to speak generally, for each province had its own language, different each one from the rest, and that of the Lords and orejones was the most obscure of all, and [so also was] that of Puerto Viejo, for these people of Puerto Viejo when talking almost scream like cats. This language of the Guancas differs from the common tongue a little, as that of the Portuguese differs from that of the Castilians, I mean the language of these Xauxas and Guancas.

To one side, and further down in this province, are found the Chachapoyas. These people are a warlike folk. Their heads are partly shorn. It is said that they were robbers. The women of these people are usually beautiful. I heard one day Atabalipa say to the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro that in this province there was a mountain range, and that, from time to time, they used to set fire to a small mountain which formed a part of it, and that after the fire had died out, they

used to find melted silver in it.' And this was the reason why the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro did not fix upon his marquissate, because he was waiting to establish it in this province and in that of Guanuco, pretending to barter the Indians for those whom they had there with permission from His Majesty. I say that this mountain range mentioned by Atabalipa was either where I have said or among the Guancachupachos. And I am not certain in what province of these two I mention it was, although to judge by what he [Atabalipa] said, it is among the Chachapoyas.

Having now set out from Xauxa for Cuzco, as I have said, with Soto going in advance, we went onwards upon our journey, and in Vilcas certain warriors came out against Soto, and upon an upward slope which one must climb in order to enter Vilcas, they had a reëncounter, and the Spaniards routed the Indians. We killed some of them; and of this Soto gave news to the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro. The Marquis sent to order Soto to wait for him three or four days' jour-

ney short of Cuzco, which Soto did not do, on account of which we were all like to be lost. It was a fact that Soto was travelling with the evil intention of entering Cuzco before the Marquis. He had information that in Vilca Conga,<sup>85</sup> ten leagues from Cuzco, all the [Indian] troops were assembled, awaiting us in order to give us battle, that being a strong position for them on account of the fact that there was a sharp slope [which has an upward incline more than a league long] which it seemed to the Indians would cause the horses to be weary when they finished going up the grade, and [the Indians thought that] they would avail themselves the more than if the land had been flat, and so it almost turned out to be, and it would have been so had not God our Lord given a remedy. Then, the soldiers who were going with Soto becoming aware of his intentions, one of them gave the Marquis information about it, which information reached us at the river of Avancay.<sup>86</sup> Learning of it, the Marquis ordered Don Diego de Almagro to go in pursuit [of

Soto] and detain him wherever he caught up with him. And, when all the rest of the troops who were there were made ready, he gave them to Don Diego de Almagro in order that he might go with them [to support him]. The Marquis kept only some twenty or twenty-five men, most of those being the foot-soldiers who were guarding Challicuchima. And certain it is that if the land had been undivided [by dissensions], we would all have perished here. When Almagro had set out, Soto received news of his coming, and, in order to carry out his intention, he went on with double marches, giving as a pretext to his soldiers his wish to hurry to capture that pass of Vilca Conga before the Indians should assemble, and this in the face of the fact that they had already been assembled there for some months. While Soto was proceeding in this manner, Almagro had news of it, and spurring on his horses, he went on at double marches without stopping day or night in order to catch up with Soto. It was the truth, then, that Soto urged on his horses so much that he wearied

them, and, not wishing to rest at the foot of the slope lest Almagro, who was now near, overtake him, he went up it with the horses so fatigued that half way up the grade the Indians attacked them and surrounded them in such a manner that they even laid hands upon the horses' tails. Here they killed five Spaniards and wounded many horses, and if the night had not intervened they would have killed all. This enemy was disposed in such wise that some Spaniards who had remained behind went to the Camp of the Indians, believing that it was that of the Spaniards. That same night Don Diego de Almagro arrived at the foot of the slope, and, not finding Soto, went up the grade without stopping, his horses being no less weary than those which had previously gone up with Soto. Having climbed the slope by the hour of midnight, they [Almagro and his men] did not guess where were the Christians and where the Indians, because these Indians were awaiting the dawn in order to attack Soto and rout him, and so it would have been

had not Almagro arrived. Then, Almagro being in a high place in order to descry where the Spaniards [of Soto] might be and in order that they might learn of his arrival, he ordered a trumpet of shell to be sounded, and by its notes the very much afflicted Spaniards who were with Soto were made to rejoice, and they came to where Almagro was, and this trumpet was sounded many times upon this night in order that some Spaniards who, wearied, had remained behind, might be able to guess where the Camp of the Christians was. Then, the Indian warriors hearing the trumpet, they knew that help had arrived, and in the morning they went up a peak, very leisurely, and without fear of the Spaniards, and certain it is that those who were in the greatest peril at this time were those who had remained with the Marquis, because they were so few, as I have said, that had the Indians known of it, they would have made but little ado about killing them all. Then all stopped in this place of Vilca Conga and they waited for Don Francisco Pizarro who was now in Apurima,

where he had a message, sent by Almagro, which told him all that had taken place.<sup>87</sup>

Now that I have recounted all that befell in connexion with the war from Xauxa as far as Vilca Conga, I shall tell of the gold and silver which we found upon the road. In Andaguailas was found a great quantity of spoiled silver, I mean to say small pieces. This was left there, and was later taken to Xauxa, and there other lots were discovered, although they were but small, because this was [silver] which they returned from Andaguailas, and [we found] what there was in Xauxa and some large slabs of silver which we found while going down from Curamba to a plain where there was a village of mamaconas, and further on it will be told what the mamaconas are. We having arrived, then, at this plain where was this village of mamaconas, which was deserted on account of all its people having fled, upon a plain which there spreads itself before the houses, the Marquis stopped to eat, and he ordered me to go into those houses to see if there was anything to eat.

Accordingly I went, and while I was looking for maize and other things to eat, I entered by chance a hut where I found these slabs of silver which I have mentioned, which were as many as ten in number, and had a length of twenty feet and a width of one foot, and a thickness of three fingers. I gave the Marquis news of it, and he and all the rest who were with him came in to see it. These slabs, Indians told [us], were [being] carried to Trugillo in order to build there a house for their idol who was called Chimo. The gateway of this [idol's house] was found later, and it was worth ninety thousand castellanos. In Vilcas, in a round hut, were found certain panniers, and in them were pitchers and plates of gold. This, they said, was to have been carried to Atabalipa and to him of Guailas to form a part of what he had ordered. And when he died, they remained in the place where the event found them. Also I heard Atabalipa [say] one day while he was eating with the Marquis that they were bringing him from Chile six hundred panniers [full] of

gold for the treasure he had ordered. Upon being asked by the Marquis how great a quantity that would be, he replied: It will form a pile as high as this table. This [treasure] never made its appearance. Then, going onward, and having arrived at the Apurima, which means The-Lord-Who-Speaks, for here in this Apurima the demon used to speak with them, it befell that, in the presence of a Spaniard whom Mango Inga held a prisoner while he [Mango] was in revolt, and who was called Francisco Martin, this Mango Inga caused the demon to speak to him before this Francisco Martin, who said that he heard the voice of the demon reply to the questions which Mango Inga put to him, and he [Mango] said to him [Martin]: See how my god speaks to me. There was in this [valley of] Apurima which I mention a much painted hut, and inside of it was set up a thick beam, thicker than a very fat man, and this beam had many pieces hacked out of it. It was very much covered with the blood which they offered to it. It had a girdle of gold bound around it

and soldered on so as to resemble lace, and on the front were two large teats of gold like those of a woman, likewise soldered to it just as the girdle was. This beam was arrayed with very fine garments of a woman, and having many copos of gold, which are like pins, and which the women of this kingdom use, most of them being large, a palm in length, and at the head they are very broad and flat, and from these heads hang many tiny little bells of gold and silver. These [pins] they [the women] used to fasten the mantles, which they use as clothes, over their shoulders. At the sides of this thick beam, which I mention, there are others, in a line, from one side to another, and they occupy the entire length of the room. These beams, likewise, are bathed with blood and robed in mantles like the large one, resembling, with their copos, statues of women. Through this largest beam they say it was that the demon used to speak to them. They called him Apurima. Over him was placed a guardian, a lady who styled herself Asarpay, a sister of

these Ingas. This woman later hurled herself headlong from a very high pass which leads down to the descent that approaches the bridge across the Apurima river. Covering up her head she threw herself into the river near this gully, more than two hundred estados deep, at the same time calling out to Apurima, the idol whom she served. In this land there were idols which these Indians had, and which they called Guacas, and in Cuzco there was one which they called Guanacaure in the lake of the Collao at Titicaca, and this Apurima [is] called Achimo in Trugillo, whither they were taking these slabs [of silver]. And above all these Guacas they held in esteem Pachacama, because in their tongue Pachacama means The-Lord-Who-Takes-All-The-Earth. I am inserting some of these things as they come to my memory in order not to forget them.<sup>88</sup>

Many other innumerable idols they had wherever the demon appeared to them. But these Indians held those which I have mentioned to be very important idols, to judge

by what they said about them. This beam which I have mentioned and which was used as an idol of Apurima, went to the factor Mercado who had those Indians in encomienda, and it was very . . . . they gave him for it twelve thousand pesos. This woman who, as I say, hurled herself [into the river] did so that it [the idol] might be returned. This was about the time of the siege of Cuzco, for it was at that time that Mercado came.

To return now to captains Don Diego de Almagro and Soto, who were at Vilca Conga with the troops, awaiting the Marquis, as I have said, [it befell that] Don Francisco Pizarro having arrived at the slope of Vilccongga where all the said troops were assembled waiting for him, we set forth to the city of Cuzco. Having arrived at Xaquixaguana,<sup>89</sup> four leagues from Cuzco, we arrived at the village [where] a son of Guainacapa, called Mango Inga, came in peace to the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, saying: To whom does the sovereignty belong? And the Mar-

quis said that he would inform himself concerning the matter in Cuzco, and in accordance with this [policy] so was it arranged, which should not have been done, for the natives desired that only the Marquis should govern and that he create no Lord [to rule over them]. And certainly it would have been better so, for this Indian [Mango Inga] did things which will be related further on, for [it chanced that] in this place of Xaquixaguna the treasonable actions of this man Chalicuchima toward the Spaniards were discovered, and [it was learned] how he had commanded warriors to lie in wait for the Spaniards, as I have already said, and in the passes there were skirmishes [ordered by him]. Also the pledges which he had made to Tubalipa were learned about, and for these reasons, and because, should he get loose, he would greatly imperil the Spaniards, the Marquis and his captains agreed to kill him, and accordingly he was killed in this place.<sup>90</sup> And when they took him out to execute him, he gave loud cries, calling upon his companion

Quizquiz that<sup>91</sup> . . . . .  
to kill, because he believed that . . . . .  
of which through the peaks of these moun-  
tains . . . . .  
Jaguana there were warriours . . . . .  
thus was killed this captain . . . . .  
This man was a well-disposed Indian . . . . .  
sturdy limbs, dark, very . . . . .  
Believe me when I say that while this Indian  
. . . . .  
xlaca from Caxamalca in half . . . . .  
of Almagro came out on horseback from  
the . . . . .  
of the Marquis, and as he saw him . . . . .  
to the horse making ready . . . . .  
Challicuchima es[caped?] . . . . .  
without moving, although he arrived . . . . .  
to place his beard [or chin] above the face . . .  
Challicuchima did not make a move . . . . .  
All blamed Don Diego de Almagro . . . . .  
for not having overthrown him. He was a  
very cruel Indian. From here we set out for  
Cuzco . . . . . the storehouses  
which there were in this valley, and from here

to Cuzco [examples of] all the things which there were in this kingdom<sup>92</sup> . . . . . to the Lord of Noctumbez. Up to this place it was a thing for fear, and it appeared to all that it would be impossible ever to put an end to it. Even with some sea-shells with the . . . . . they brought from Tumbes in order to make the very delicate little reckoning [devices?] . . . . . coral, and of all the many things which it can be imagined that there are in these realms . . . . . judge. Arrived a league [from Cuzco] at a plain which was named . . . . . by a skirmish which there was with Quizquiz and his men. This was a declivity leading down to this plain where they killed and wounded some horses . . . . . The Marquis this night in the . . . . . with heavy guard . . . . there was . . . . because . . . . the afternoon in order to enter Cuzco. Thus when, in this manner, at midnight rebellion broke out and fighting between the troops . . . . . of some horses which escaped . . . . . understanding what it was that the

Indian warriors who were in the . . . . . attacked our men and did us much harm because the friendly natives who were with us embraced the Spaniards, believing that Quizquiz with his troops had attacked the Camp, for, as they were his enemies on account of belonging to the party of Guascar and on account of having joined forces with the Spaniards, they [the friendly Indians] feared them much, and the enemy wished to slay all of them. This tumult lasted a long while until it was understood what the matter was. Then Quizquiz and the Indian warriors who were with him, hearing the great shouts of the fighters, believed that we were attacking them, and so they withdrew that night, and on the next morning none of them appeared. Then, after dawn . . . . . the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro remained . . . . . three portions of his soldiers, and one went on ahead, scouting, and the other part . . . . . guard, and he, with the rest of the troops, . . . . . on foot in the centre, in this manner . . . . . In Cuzco there were

so many people who came to see us that the fields were covered with them. When we had entered with the Marquis, he caused all the troops to be lodged around the plaza, he himself taking up his abode in Caxana, certain rooms which . . . . of Guainacapa, and likewise Johan Pizarro and Gonzalo Pizarro his brothers. In others . . . . were near to this Caxana.<sup>93</sup> Almagro [was lodged] in other quarters which were near to the place where the cathedral now is. Soto [was lodged] in Amaro-cancha in some rooms which are so called [and which were the property] of the ancient Ingas, which were in the plaza of the other part [of the city]. And the rest of the soldiers were quartered in a large galpón which was near the plaza, and in Atun Cancha,<sup>94</sup> which was a huge enclosed area with but one entrance. On the plaza side this enclosure was [a house of] mamaconas, and there were in it many rooms. In these [buildings] which I mention were lodged all the Spaniards. Then the Marquis caused a proclamation to be made to the effect that no Spaniard should enter

the houses of the natives or take anything from them. It was the sight of the soldiery who were in this city of Cuzco that caused wonderment . . . . . most of who served these dead folk whom I have mentioned, for each day they took them all out into the plaza and sat them down in a row, each one according to his antiquity, and there the men and women servitors ate and drank. And for the dead they made fires before them with a piece of very dry wood which they had worked into a very even shape. Having set this piece of wood on fire, they burned here every thing which they had placed before the dead in order that he might eat of the things which they eat, and here in this fire they consumed it. Likewise before these dead people they had certain large pitchers, which they call *verquis*,<sup>95</sup> made of gold, silver or pottery, each one according to his wish, and into [these vessels] they poured the chicha which they gave to the dead man with much display, and the dead pledged one another as well as the living, and the living pledged the dead. When

these verquis were filled, they emptied them into a round stone in the middle of the plaza, and which they held to be an idol, and it was made around a small opening by which it [the chicha] drained itself off through some pipes which they had made under the ground. This . . . . . had a sheath or choir which in . . . . . in the whole of it and covered it up, and thus they had built a sort of hut of woven mats, round, with which . . . . . night they covered it in the same manner. They took out a small covered bundle which they said was the Sun, carried by an Indian whom they had as a priest, and who was dressed in a long shirt above which he wore other garments, which fell to below the shin and had tassels like fringes a hand's breadth wide garnished all around. These fringes were entire, not cut. Then came two others who, like the first, were called guardians of the Sun. Each of these two bore in his hand a lance somewhat larger than a halberd, and upon them were lashed clubs, and axes of gold. They carried them covered up with

woollen sheathes like sleeves, for they covered them up entirely and fell below. All these lances were dressed around the middle with girdles of gold. These Indians said that they were the arms of the Sun. Wherever they set this bundle down, they saw the head [of the Sun]. For the Sun, they had placed a bench in the centre of the plaza, all garnished with mantles of feathers, very colourful and very delicate, and here they placed this bundle, grounding the halberds on either side of him. Holding the axes erect, then, they gave this Sun food to eat in the manner which I have already described while speaking of the dead, and they gave him drink. Then, when they burned the dinner of the Sun, one Indian raised his voice and gave a cry which all heard, and, hearing the cry, all those who were in the plaza, and all those outside of it who heard, sat down, and, without speaking or coughing or moving, kept silence until the dinner was consumed which they had thrown into the fire they had made, all of which did not take very long, for the wood was very dry. All the

ashes which were left over from these fires they threw into the round stone trough shaped like a teat which, as I say, was in the middle of the plaza, and into which they threw the . . . . . This Sun had many guardians and servitors who were like priests. One among them was the chief, for he was like a bishop, and to him all the others yielded obedience, and, without the permission of these [priests] they did nothing, and he [the chief priest] was called Vila<sup>96</sup> . . . . . He was Lord of . . . . . of the Lords of the kingdom. They had for this Sun certain very large houses, all of very well made masonry, in the manner of that near . . . . . very high and well worked. On the right of it there was a band consisting of plates of gold a palm wide, fastened upon the stones [of the wall]. And above all this, on the entire front of the enclosure, which was not larger than a small patio, there was a . . . . . like a bench with the encasing of gold which, as I have said, covered it, and which they carried to Caxamalca. Here they seated the Sun when he

did not go out into the plaza by day. At night they placed him in a small but very well made room, likewise adorned with golden plates in every part. Here lived many women who said that they were the wives of the Sun, and they pretended to keep their virginity and to live chastely, and they lied, for they involved themselves with the male servants and guardians of the Sun, who were many.

Away from the room where the Sun was wont to sleep, they made a small field, which was much like a large one, where, at the proper season, they sowed maize. They sprinkled it by hand with water brought on purpose for the Sun. And at the time when they celebrated their festivals, which was three times a year, that is: when they sowed the crops, when they harvested them, and when they made orejones, they filled this garden with cornstalks made of gold, having their ears and leaves very much like natural maize, all made of very fine gold, which they had kept in order to place them here at these times.<sup>97</sup> In this house where, as I say, the

Sun was, more than two hundred women were wont to sleep daily, all of them being the daughters of important Indians. They slept on the floor, and they placed the bundle of the Sun upon a high bench, very rich with much trimming of turnsoles, and they pretended to sleep there and that the Sun had connexion with them.

I shall try now to tell what these mamaconas are, and this name of mamaconas which they have was the usual one among the people of this lineage of these orejones, for they were numerous, and they were looked upon [by the people] as noble, especially those who went with their hair short, because there were others who had their hair long and flowing, without ever cutting it, although they said that they were relatives, the ones with the others, their origin being two brothers, one of whom took the habit of going about with his hair short and the other with his hair long. From the lineage of those who cut their hair were sprung the Lords of this kingdom, and the sons and daughters of these were

held in greater respect. They were at liberty, when they were of age, to choose whomever they wished in order to serve him and to call themselves by his name, and from the time when they were small children their fathers assigned them and dedicated them either to the Sun or to the reigning Sovereign or to one of the dead men whom I have mentioned, and they set them aside for [the chosen one's] service. And those who were dedicated to the Sun went to live in his houses, which were very large and very well enclosed [with walls], the women busying themselves with making chicha, which was a kind of beverage which they made from maize and drank as we do wine, and with preparing the food as well for the Sun as for those who served him. They all had to be assembled at night, without any of them going outside of these enclosures and houses, for they had many porters who guarded them, and there was but one door in these enclosures, as I myself have seen. Nor was any male to sleep or remain by night [within the enclosure] under penalty of death in case

it should be found out [I saw what I here describe]. And he who arranged and ordered everything in [regard to] their rites had them [the offenders] killed, because they obeyed and feared him [the high priest] in their rites and ceremonies. By day these women could go out, and they were called *mamaconas*. Those women who were thus for the service [of the Sun] were as I have described them, and [it was the same in] other places very well enclosed and having gates and porters who guarded them. In like manner they occupied themselves as did the women of the Sun, as well as in serving the sisters of the *Ingas*. Those who were with the dead had more liberty, for, though they were shut up in their houses, they were not so much oppressed as the rest already mentioned. In the provinces throughout this kingdom of *Pirú* there was this order of *mamaconas*, and it gathered together, in the largest province and town assigned to it, the daughters of the Indian nobles, and even in the very villages, even though they might be small, they had

houses for the reception of the girls born [in all classes] of the Indians. From the age of ten years onward they occupied themselves with aiding in sowing the crops of the Sun and of the Inga, and in making delicate clothing for the Lords, as I say, in spinning wool, for the men did not like to weave it. In like manner, these women made chicha for the Indians who cultivated the lands of the Sun and of the Inga, and, on his [the Sun's or the Inga's] behalf they gave food and chicha to garrisons of troops who might pass by the land [of the Sun]. The arrangement they had for giving wives to the Indians and for renewing these mamaconas was this. Every year the governor who ruled the province, and who was an orejon appointed by the Inga [each ten thousand Indians had its governor], caused all these mamaconas to assemble in the plaza, and he bade those who were the oldest to choose the husbands that suited them from their own village, and calling the Indian men to them, they [the women] asked them with what women of those who were there

they wished to wed, and in this way they proceeded every year, marrying off the oldest women, and replacing them by others ten years old, as I have said. If by chance any of these Indian women was very fair, they sent her to the Sovereign. These women were called *mamaconas*. This was common throughout this kingdom of Pirú. These women sustained themselves with the food which they collected for the Lord, because in each province they sowed and preserved great supplies of [food], and from certain parts they carried it to Cuzco.<sup>98</sup> And if the place were very far away, they distributed it among the natives so that it might not be lost, the order being that when they [the natives] took anything from the stores, they were to give back as much new food [later on]. As they had these storehouses, they had peace, for whenever troops passed through the villages they could provide themselves with supplies from the stores without touching those of the natives. Likewise, they had deposits of coarse clothing, because all the fine cloth was taken

to Cuzco, and stores of sandals, which they call ojotas, of arms such as those which they used in the provinces in order to supply the troops who passed by, and of all other things which they needed. These governors who were in the provinces had charge of all this, and they had charge of causing to be carried to Cuzco that portion of the things paid as tribute which they had been ordered to send thither. Similarly, they had charge of the distribution of land among the natives of their jurisdictions, assigning to each Indian what was sufficient for him, and in like manner they arranged about the quantity of water which he might take for the working of his lands, if it chanced to be in a land of irrigation canals, for, in the greater part of this kingdom they had them and used them in order to . . . plow the fields and sow them, and later it remained for the rains [to do the rest]. This was in the mountains. These governors kept track of the Indians of both sexes who were born. Also, they made those of their district who had mines bring out from

them gold and silver. They made others gather coca, which was a much valued herb which they carry in their mouths and with which they make all their sacrifices and idolatries, and this coca did not relieve them of thirst, hunger and weariness, although they said it did, and this I heard from Atabalipa and Mango Inga. They honoured it much because the Lords to whom they gave it used it, and they held to be an honoured thing whatever they ate or had. And finally, these [governors] had accounts and reports of everything, and, to preserve peace and justice, they went every day to visit the villages of their districts, in order that the Indians should not possess nor have more than he [the governor] assigned to them. They could not have their daughters beyond the age of ten, nor could they have gold and silver or fine clothes, unless, perchance, the Lord gave some piece of it to some cacique [for these last are Lords of villages or provinces whom they call caciques] in reward for some service he had done to the Sovereign. Nor could they have

more than ten head of cattle, éxcept with permission from the Sovereign, and this permission he gave to caciques, that is, permission to have fifty or one hundred head. Believe me when I say that, at the time when we entered Cuzco, I was told by an Indian from Caxamalca that he had been accustomed, ever since he could carry a load, he had carried two loads of maize from Caxamalca to Cuzco on two trips, that is, half a hanega each load, for these natives had measures of silver and wood in which they measured out food, very little larger than ours. From Caxamalca to Cuzco there is a distance of more than two hundred leagues of very rough road through the mountains. On my asking him what he ate on this long road, he replied that they gave him food in the villages through which he passed wherever he needed it, but that the burdens had to arrive entire at Cuzco under penalty of death, and there they [the Indian bearers] placed the burdens in some store-houses which were assigned to the people of Caxamalca, and the same was done with all

the other things which the Yungas paid in tribute. These tributes and supplies were taken up into the mountains in order to place them in storehouses which the Yungas had made [there]. Some of the valleys are close to the sea. It is a hot land; it never rains there save for a mist in the winter, which is but little, and there is no need of other huts than rows of canes [fitted with] reed mats. When, among these Yungas, it is winter, in the mountains it is summer, and, contrariwise, when it is winter in the mountains, it is summer in these valleys. This change of temperature takes place within a distance of a league or two [and in so short a space one may pass] from rain to rainlessness, or from summer to winter, as has been said, for it is a marvellous thing [to see how] on coming out of this temperature of the plains one passes in the space of a league or two into the different temperature of the highlands. These plains are sandy in some cases, most of them being deserts, except where rivers flow from the mountains to the sea, for in these [valleys]

there are towns. And [from] these storehouses already mentioned which the Yungas have in the highlands, the Indians of the neighbourhood take [merchandise] and carry it to Cuzco. The clothes worn by these Yungas are all of cotton, as well in the case of the men as in that of the women. Both men and women wear the hair long, and some of them bind it around the head and wrap slings about it.

I shall now give an account of what was in this city of Cuzco when we entered it, for there were many storehouses which had very fine clothing as well as other coarser garments, and there were stores of *escaños*,<sup>99</sup> food, of coca. There were deposits of turnsole feathers which looked like very fine gold, and other turnsole feathers were of a golden green colour. It was a very slender feather grown by some little birds hardly larger than a cigar, and because they are so small, they call them comine birds. These little birds grow this feather already called turnsole only upon their breasts, and the place where they grow

is scarcely larger than a finger-nail. [These Indians] had many of these feathers twisted into a thin cord closely wound about a framework of maguey in such fashion as to form pieces more than a palm wide, and the whole was fastened upon certain chests [which they had]. Of this feather they made garments which caused the beholders to wonder how so many turnsole feathers could have been gathered together. There were likewise many other plumes of divers colours for the purpose of making clothing with which the Lords and Ladies bedight themselves at the time of the festivals. There were also mantles made with very delicate little spangles of mother-of-pearl, gold and silver in such wise as to cause astonishment at the dexterity of the work, for the whole was so covered with these spangles that nothing of the closely woven network [which formed the basis of the garment] was visible. These garments were likewise for the Ladies. There were stores of sandals with the soles made of cabuya, and above the toes they were made of very fine wool of many colours,

in the manner of Flemish half-shoes, except that they covered the instep [only up to] two fingers below the ankle. I shall not be able to describe the deposits which I saw of all the varieties of apparel which they made and used in this kingdom, for time would be lacking for seeing it all and understanding for comprehending such a great thing. There were many stores of small bars of copper [from] the mines, of sacks and ropes, of wooden vessels, of plates of gold and silver [so that] all that was found here was a thing causing astonishment, although the Indians did not esteem it greatly according to what I understood later, for had they done so, they would have hidden it better. I shall describe, then, certain notable pieces which, though hidden, were found, without taking into account the things found by accident and discovered in the storehouses and among the mamaconas.

There were found in a cave twelve awnings of gold and silver of the nature and size of those used in this land, and so natural that it was a thing to see. Pitchers were found half of

pottery and half of gold, the gold being so well encased in the pottery that, although they filled them with water, not a drop came out, and so well made that it was a sightly thing. Likewise a bundle of gold was found, on account of which the Indians were much afflicted, for they said it was the figure of the first Lord who conquered this land. Slippers made of gold of the sort the women were wont to wear were found. There were found, upon many vessels of gold, lobsters of the sort that grow in the sea, and [the vessels] were sculptured with all the birds and serpents, even spiders, lizards, and all the sorts of beetles which they know, all carved in the body of the gold. All this was found, as I say, in a large cave which is outside of Cuzco among some large rocks, for, being delicate pieces, they did not inter them as they did other and larger treasures of whose burial news was received, later on, from certain Indians. I heard two or three Indians who told about it, one of them speaking to one Maldonado, a servant of the Marquis, and he [the Indian]

told him that in Vilcaconga there was a cave whither, he said, had been carried for hiding a thousand loads of golden plates which Guascar had in order to adorn his house, and soon afterwards this Indian disappeared, and it was never possible to find him, because this Maldonado delayed one day in order to tell the Marquis about it. Another Indian was killed by Almagro when he [Almagro] was at odds with Juan Pizarro in Cuzco, [and this Indian was] a brother of Mango Inga, by whose request he slew him [Almagro]. [The Indian] alleged to one Simon Juarez that behind the fortress of Cuzco there was a plain in which there was a great vault under the ground where more than four thousand loads of gold and silver were buried and hidden. And, Almagro being desirous of killing him [the Indian], Simon Juarez told Almagro what the Indian knew and had said to him. Almagro told Mango Inga about it, by whose request he killed him [the Indian], for Mango Inga said: Kill him, then, for I shall show you that treasure. And after he [Almagro] had killed him

he wished to do it again, for there was no such treasure. Also Almagro killed another brother of this Inga, called Atosxopa, sending four Spaniards who stabbed him at night, among them being one Balboa and Sosa and Perez and another who is not known, and [this likewise was done] at the request of this Mango Inga, because this man tried to kill off all his brothers, thinking that later they might be raised up [to the Incaship] and because, if there were no brothers of his, he sought [to imagine] whom the Spaniards might raise up to be Lord, and so he plotted with Don Diego de Almagro to kill them all as he had these two. And at length no more remained other than a boy Paulo, son of an Indian woman [already fled away] of whom he took no account as he was but a bastard and a young boy, and later Almagro took him [Paulo] with him to Chile when he went there. These [brothers of the Inga] Almagro killed while he was lieutenant governor of Cuzco for the Marquis, and [he did so] with a wicked purpose, which was to win the friendship of

Mango Inga in order that he might favour him in taking Cuzco [for part of] his jurisdiction, for already news had been received that the grant made by His Majesty was coming. These and other numerous treasures these natives hid in the manner which I shall relate, and will be an impossibility to find them, for they took these treasures with what troops were necessary in order to carry them, and they placed them in a spot near where they were to be hidden, and placing them there they left fifty or one hundred Indians, according to the size of the treasure, and commanded all the rest to go away, and there remained with these hundred Indians one of these orejones or two Lords who were vassals of the kings of this land. They caused the treasure to be borne to the place where it was to be buried, and after having hidden it and covered it over well, they took these Indians who had buried it far away, searching for certain remote trees where they might hang them, for the orders were that all should be hung, and so it was done, without their ven-

turing to do anything else, [and] they themselves slew themselves without leaving one alive, be it only a single Inga, out of a hundred or more, for such was the fear and respect in which these Ingas were held that they [their subjects] on being commanded to hang themselves or kill themselves or throw themselves headlong [over a precipice], did so without making any excuse or delay, and for this reason the hidden treasures of this kingdom are many. It will be a miracle if they are found.

To return to the matter of Cuzco, [I will say that] on top of a hill they had a very strong fort surrounded with masonry walls of stones and having two very high round towers. And in the lower part of this wall there were stones so large and thick that it seemed impossible that human hands could have set them in place, and there were some as broad as small . . . . . and more than a fathom thick. And they were so close together, and so well fitted, that the point of a pin could not have been inserted in one of the

joints. The whole [fortress was built up in] terraces and flat spaces. There were so many rooms that ten thousand Indians could get within them. All these rooms were occupied by and filled with arms, lances, arrows, darts, clubs, bucklers and large oblong shields under which a hundred Indians could go, as though under a mantle, in order to capture forts. There were many morions made of certain canes very well woven together and so strong that no stone nor blow could penetrate them and harm the head which wore the morion. There were also, here in this fortress, certain stretchers in which the Lords travelled, as in litters. There were here many Indians who guarded these stores and who saw to it that these terraces and rooms were kept in repair if it rained in the winter-time. This fortress would have been impregnable strong had it been provided with water, and [it had] great labyrinths and rooms which I never saw completely and never understood.<sup>100</sup>

Now I shall tell about the people who were in this city of Cuzco and the vices which they

had. So many were the drums which were heard by night in all parts [of the city], and so much was there of dancing and singing and drinking [partaken in] by the dead and by the living, that the greater part of the night was passed in this way. This was the daily custom of these Lords and Ladies and orejones,<sup>101</sup> for the rest of the Indians were innocent of it except at certain times of the year when, with the permission of the orejones who governed them, they celebrated according to their nature, but most of the year they were occupied with work for the Sovereign. The Sovereigns of this land said that they made the natives work always because it was more fitting so, because they were brawling idlers and wastrels, and if they were made to work, they lived wholesomely. Now I shall tell about the vices which these orejones had and the artifice by which the orejones were created. These, then, year by year, assembled together their sons of ten years' age and arrayed them in certain shirts and certain short mantles, and they shod them

with sandals of straw. Then they fasted a certain number of days in the manner I have described, that is, by going without salt, aji and chicha. On certain days they went daily to a hill half a league from Cuzco, and there they worshipped an idol of stone whom they called Guanacaure. He who most speedily came to this idol was the most feared. This going to and fro lasted, I think, about thirty days, at the end of which, here on this [hill] of Guanacaure, they bored their ears and put bandages upon them. They put in their ears some little thin sticks, and each day they put in a thicker one, until they came to put in a small wheel, like the hoop of a sieve, made of certain rushes which grow in this land, and which are broad and very light. They scraped the flesh of the ear every day in order that [the opening] might go on increasing. There were some [orejones] who had [ears] so large that they came down to the shoulders. He who had the largest [ears] was held to be the finest gentleman among them. After having pierced the ears of these boys, they held great dances

in the plaza, all holding on to a very thick rope of gold which took up the entire length of the plaza. This was never found. At the time when these festivals were being held all the Indians who were not orejones or members of that caste were ordered to leave the city, and [it was forbidden] for any of them to dally in the environs of the city of Cuzco. They had placed forts upon all the roads leading from this city, which were four, to wit: Pocollasuyo, Parachinchasuyo, Paracondesuyo,<sup>102</sup> Indian porters and guardians of the highway in order that no Indian might take away gold or silver or fine clothing if the Inga did not give it to him, and if any person came with something given by the Inga one of the porters was told of it, and if anyone carried anything without leave, they killed him. Now I shall tell of the vices and wickednesses which these orejones had. They were much given up to luxury and to drinking. They had carnal relations with their sisters and with those of the wives of their fathers who were not their own mothers, and some men even

had relations with them . . . . .  
and likewise with their daughters. They became drunk very seldom, but, being drunk, they did all that the demon suggested it to their wills to do. These orejones were very proud and presumptuous. They had it as a custom among them to take to wife those of their father's spouses who were not their own mothers, and similarly, if their brothers died, they took their wives. They had many other wickednesses which, being many, I shall not mention.<sup>103</sup>

I shall now turn to an account of what the Marquis ordered after he had rested his soldiers for some days, and after he had caused the natives to raise up Mango Inga as Inga, for here, and for this purpose the greater part of the caciques of this land were gathered together. [Mango] having been raised up, as I say, as Sovereign, the Marquis ordered Almagro and Hernando de Soto to make ready and to go in pursuit of Quizquiz [and the warriors whom he carried along with him toward Quito, mastering the land] in order

that they might succour the Spaniards who had remained in Xauxa, so that they [the Indians] might not attack and kill them. And in like manner Mango Inga prepared to go with warriors of the land [for the sake of] aiding the Spaniards and favouring them. The Marquis remained in Cuzco with somewhat more than one hundred Spaniards in order to collect all the gold and silver that was to be had and divide it into shares, as well for those who were going after Quizquiz as for those who remained. And so he did it, and at this time each share contained three thousand pesos, and to the cavalry they allotted two . . . . . and to the infantry three thousand. This was true of those to whom whole shares were given, for here the same order was preserved as had obtained in Caxamalca, as I have related. Then, having divided up the shares, and having given to each one his due, he determined to found in Cuzco the city which is now there, commanding that it be proclaimed that whoever wished to be a citizen there should come and present

a memorial [of his desire] before the secretary, and that each [settler] should ask for that of which he had need, and this the Marquis did in order to give greater spirit [to his men] so that men would remain and settle in this Cuzco, for certain it was that they stayed at great risk to their lives, they being so few and the natives so many. And for this reason he gave very large repartimientos, giving them by provinces, to each one who asked for them, and for this reason he did not give encomiendas, as His Majesty had asked him to do, giving stores instead in order that he might later take away what seemed to him best, as later on was done by Picado when he entered the secretaryship and Pedro Sancho left it. He [Sancho] was the second secretary, for he [Pizarro] had had as his first secretary one Jerez, a native of Seville.<sup>104</sup> Then, having made this repartimiento, and having founded Cuzco, he made ready to return to Xauxa in order to found there his town, having now learned something about the province of the Collao through two Spaniards

whom he had sent there, who were Diego de Agüero and Pedro Martinez de Moguer. These people of the Collao are dwellers in a cold land around the lakes which I have mentioned as existing in these provinces. And in all these provinces of the Collao, Quillacas and Carangas neither maize nor wheat is grown on account of the great coldness of the land, but certain potatoes, like earthy seeds, are sown by the Indians in large quantities. They likewise gather certain roots which they call ocas, and which are somewhat longer than a finger and have the thickness of two fingers. They also gather a seed called quinoa,<sup>105</sup> which grows on some trees like the cenizos of Spain, but which are taller. The seed is very small. These [people] sow at their own times, and often [their fields] are frozen. They eat some maize from the valleys which they have in the direction of the South Sea and from others which are in the Andes toward the North Sea [and they barter for it] with wool and cattle of which they have much, because these people of the Collao under-

stand well how to take care of the flocks of the Sun and of him who reigned over the land, [and they had such flocks] in great quantities, having large pastures in their lands and vast deserts. In these deserts were bred large numbers of mountain cattle which they call guanacos and vicuñas, similar to the tame animals. The guanaco was a large smooth animal having but little wool. The vicuñas were small, having much very fine wool from which they made clothing for the Lords. These mountain animals were so swift that there were few dogs which were fleet enough to catch up with them. In these deserts there were Indians who watched over [the animals] for the natives in order that those who passed by should not take any of them, nor any of the birds which lived here, which were partridges and geese. These partridges are like those of Spain, except that their feet and beak are not red. Each year they [the Indians] made circles in which they captured these vicuñas and guanacos and clipped them of their wool in order to make clothes for the

Lords, and out of the animals which died they made very fine resin, drying it in the sun without . . . for the Lords, and the live ones they let loose. In these deserts there were mad women, as I say. And at these roundups, which they held by order of the Lords, the Lords themselves were sometimes present to enjoy themselves. The same was true in all the deserts which there were in this kingdom. The Indians of this province of Collao are a dirty folk; they indulge in many abominable sins, and many men go about in the clothes of women, doing evil [and engaged in] many idolatries. They wear coarse woollen clothing, and both men and women wear the hair long and curling. Those of one part of the lake wear large bonnets upon their heads having a height of more than a palm and as broad above as below. Those of the other side of the lake wear bonnets very narrow above and as broad as small mortars below, made of black wool. Other [tribes] who border upon these and who are called Carnigas, and Aullagas and Quillacas, wear hats like these worked in coloured

wools. The Charcas, who lie beyond, wear their hair caught up and bound with little nets around it made of cords of coloured wool and having a cord which passes under the chin. Almost all these [tribes] have one language, unless, perchance, these Charcas differ from the rest to some extent. And others, who call themselves Amparaes, likewise differ in language. In this land there were many silversmiths, and [they were] very skillful artificers, and they all lived in Cuzco. The natives of this kingdom were known by their clothes, for each province has a costume different from the rest, and they hold it to be an affront to wear a costume not belonging [to the wearer's province].



DOCUMENTS AND NARRATIVES  
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BY  
PEDRO PIZARRO

IN TWO VOLUMES  
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BY  
PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS

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# RELATION

[CONTINUED]

RELATION OF THE DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST OF THE KINGDOMS OF PERU, AND OF THE GOVERNMENT AND ARRANGEMENTS WHICH THE NATIVES OF THEM FORMERLY HAD, AND OF THE TREASURES WHICH WERE FOUND THEREIN, AND OF THE OTHER EVENTS WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THOSE REALMS UP TO THE DAY ON WHICH THE RELATION WAS SIGNED BY PEDRO PIZARRO, A CONQUEROR AND SETTLER OF THOSE SAID KINGDOMS, AND A CITIZEN OF THE CITY OF AREQUIPA, IN THE YEAR 1571

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## VOLUME II

The Marquis, having set out from Cuzco, went to Xauxa in order to found there a city of Spaniards, and there he found Soto and Mango Inga. They had returned, because the warriors whom Quizquiz led were now routed by the attack which the Spaniards delivered against them, and, in his [Soto's] pursuit, he had gone beyond Atavillos, where

Quizquiz had disappeared, fleeing with some few Indians toward Quito, where afterwards he was killed by the Indian natives, because the Spaniards never had him in their hands. Don Diego de Almagro with some Spaniards went to Quito, because news was received that Don Pedro de Alvarado had disembarked at Puerto Viejo with five hundred men from Guatemala and that he was even now traversing the mountains between Puerto Viejo and Quito, as indeed he was. In this [city of] Quito was Benalcazar with some troops he had gathered, by command of the Marquis, at Tangarala, who had come thither from Nicaragua after it [Tangarala] was founded. To this Benalcazar the Marquis sent [a message] from Caxamalca, ordering him to collect all the troops I mention [and as many more] as might be found and to go to Quito so as to occupy that land in his [Pizarro's] name, because he was suspicious lest some captain come and occupy this province of Quito on the ground that it was not settled by Spaniards.

Having arrived at Quito, Don Diego de Almagro received word that Don Pedro de Alvarado was now drawing nigh, and he sent messengers to him to inform him that Quito had been settled by his companion Don Francisco Pizarro, and [advising him] not to stir up rebellion in the land because complaint [of his doing so] would be made to His Majesty. When Don Pedro de Alvarado learned that the Marquis had already conquered this entire kingdom and had established some villages in it, he came to see Don Diego de Almagro, and he entered into agreement with him to the effect that he [Almagro] should pay him for the expenses which he had incurred on account of his fleet, and that he [Alvarado] should leave his troops there and return to Guatemala. They agreed that he [Alvarado] should be given ninety thousand castellanos, and when this agreement was made he handed over the troops whom he led, and he and Don Diego de Almagro returned from Pachacama with all the troops who came with him.

To return now to the Marquis who was in Xauxa making the settlement. He divided up the neighbouring Indians [among the settlers] and founded his town in Xauxa.<sup>106</sup> This he did before he had news of the agreement made with Don Pedro de Alvarado. He settled here in order not to leave unprotected the highlands and because of the fewness of the Spaniards there [which caused him to fear] lest the mountaineers, who were many, arise in rebellion. Having formed this settlement, he sent Soto to Cuzco, making him his lieutenant in that city [and giving him] a few Spaniards. At the same time he sent Mango Inga to go with Soto to Cuzco. This done, the Marquis was desirous of seeing Pachacama and Chincha, which were much praised, and taking with him twenty men he set out to see them, leaving in Xauxa as his lieutenant Grabiél de Rojas who had just come from Nicaragua.<sup>107</sup> Then the Marquis set forth for Pachacama, and having arrived there, he remained several days, and from there he set forth to see Chincha, and while he was

there Grabiél de Rojas wrote 'to him to tell him that the land was all uneasy and like to break out into rebellion, and [asking him] to betake himself with all speed to Xauxa. As soon as these letters were received, the Marquis set out, and passing up through the valley of Lunaguan he arrived at Xauxa where he was well received by the Spaniards, and the Indians relapsed into calm. While he was in this place a messenger arrived from Almagro who sent him from Quito after the agreements with Don Pedro de Alvarado in order to give information about what had been agreed and carried out with respect to Don Pedro de Alvarado. The messenger who came here with this news was Diego de Agüero who had gone with Almagro. Then, when the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro knew of the good success of his companion, and as he saw that the Spanish pioneers were losing their fear of the natives, he determined to move the town of Xauxa to Lima, where it now is, which is the city of the Kings, and so he set forth and made his

camp at Pachacama where he awaited Don Pedro de Alvarado and Don Diego de Almagro, and from there he sent to examine the site of the city of the Kings in the valley of Lima, where he settled, as has been said. And at this time arrived Don Pedro de Alvarado and Don Diego de Almagro with all the troops whom Don Pedro de Alvarado had brought to this kingdom. When they arrived here, there were great rejoicings and games with canes. And, at the end of some days, Don Pedro de Alvarado was rested, and he was given his money, although Almagro had won almost half of it from him. He embarked and returned to Guatemala, leaving all of his soldiers in this land, and the Marquis passed on to Lima and founded the city of the Kings which still exists.<sup>108</sup>

This founding of the city of the Kings having been accomplished, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro gave power such as he himself had to Don Diego de Almagro, his companion, and he sent him to the city of Cuzco in order that he might take up his residence

there and distribute the Indians to those persons to whom he perceived it advisable to give them. Don Diego de Almagro, being in possession of this authority, set forth for the city of Cuzco, taking with him the greater part of the troops whom Don Pedro de Alvarado had brought with him, as well as other gentlemen such as Victores de Alvarado. And to some of the men of Alvarado and to Don Gomez de Luna he [Pizarro] gave occupation, giving [also] to some of them the Chachapoyas, and others he sent down to Puerto Viejo and others he took with him to Chimo, which is the valley where Trujillo lies and after having sent off Almagro, as has been told, he [Pizarro] went to found the city of Trujillo,<sup>109</sup> and there he gave good cheer to some of those who had come with Don Pedro de Alvarado, although others of them who went with Almagro to Cuzco came back so puffed up and haughty that the whole of this kingdom of Peru seemed to them but a slight matter. And so they determined to go to Chile with Don Diego de Almagro,

believing that there they would find another Peru. Then, Don Diego de Almagro having arrived at Cuzco with the troops already mentioned, and while he was there in all tranquillity, the news reached him that His Majesty had made him a grant of the governorship of the lands beyond the borders [of the jurisdiction] of the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro. While he was waiting for the despatches, those of the men of Don Pedro de Alvarado whom he had with him convinced him that Cuzco fell within the limits of his governorship. On getting wind of this, Joan Pizarro and Gonzalo Pizarro his brother, who were in Cuzco, spoke to their friends about it, for they had many, in order that they might not yield to the intrigues of the men of Alvarado and Almagro. And while he was in this [city], Almagro believed that Joan Pizarro was making ready to go out upon the road to seize the despatches [granting to Almagro] his government, and [moved by] this rumour which was spread abroad, he [Almagro] likewise made ready a body of

troops, and although it was understood that his purpose was to possess himself of Cuzco, he feigned what I have related. At this time Soto was corregidor. He favoured Almagro, and one day he came to where Joan Pizarro was with his friends in order to incarcerate him in his dwelling, but failing to do the same to Don Diego de Almagro. Then, on account of this matter, Joan Pizarro and Soto had words, for Joan Pizarro told him that he was unfairly partial, and Soto replied that it was not so, whereupon Joan Pizarro seized a lance and stuck Soto with it, and, had not he [Soto] quickly fled upon the horse he was riding, he would have been overthrown by the blows of the lance. Joan Pizarro followed him until he chased him into the place where Almagro was, and, had not the friends and soldiers of Almagro succoured him, he [Joan Pizarro] would have slain him, for Joan Pizarro was a very valiant and ireful man. And when Almagro and the troops who were with him saw Soto enter fleeing and Joan Pizarro after him, they took their arms, which they had in

readiness, and they went out against Joan Pizarro, and so, from one side or another, troops assembled with their arms in the plaza, and, had it not been for Gomez de Alvarado, a gentleman whom Don Pedro de Alvarado had brought with him, [many of] both sides would this day have met their deaths. This Gomez de Alvarado, mounted upon his horse, stationed himself with a lance in the middle [of the contending forces], and he kept them apart, the one side from the other, beseeching them to look to the service of God our Lord and of His Majesty, and [hearing] these words and others, they separated, Joan Pizarro going with his friends to his dwelling, and Almagro with his friends to his. And so they continued in arms, the one side and the other until the Marquis, who was founding Trujillo, was given news of it. It was at this time that Don Diego de Almagro killed the brothers of Mango Inga, as I have said, in order to win his [Mango's] favour for his own ends and evil plans which he had, and, had not Joan Pizarro had the number of friends which he did have,

it is to be understood that Almagro would have made himself master of Cuzco. When this riot in Cuzco was learned about by the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, he founded Trujillo and came post-haste to Cuzco, and when he was arrived, he and his companion Almagro came into an understanding, and it was agreed that Almagro should go to Chile, for many bits of information about this province were then in hand, and it was believed that it would be as good a land as this one. And they agreed between themselves under oath to be friends and not to act against one another, for, should Almagro find in Chile no land to settle in, he was to return and give news of it to the Marquis, who would then share his own governorship with him. This being agreed upon, Don Diego de Almagro made ready and with the troops of Don Pedro de Alvarado and with certain [others] who were already beginning to come to this land, he put into effect his journey, and the day he set out from Cuzco half of it burned down. And so he went with his followers all through

the Collao, for these troops of Don Pedro de Alvarado's from Guatemala whom he took with him were robbing and destroying wherever they went, for they came from those parts accustomed to do so, according to what they themselves gave [us] to understand. These were the first inventors of \* \* \* \* which, in our common speech, means to rob. And of those of us who came to the conquest with the Marquis not one man would have dared to take an ear of maize without permission.

Almagro having gone to Chile, as I say, the Marquis rebuilt Cuzco, creating more citizens for it.<sup>110</sup> And leaving as lieutenant governor his brother Joan Pizarro in the city of Cuzco, he returned to the city of the Kings, and Hernando de Soto at this juncture went to Spain. Then, Don Diego de Almagro having gone to Chile, as has been said, and the Marquis having gone to the city of the Kings, Mango Inga determined to rise in rebellion, and, entering into agreement with the natives, they began to kill some of the

Christians who were going unprotected to visit the Indians of their *encomiendas*. And one night Mango Inga determined to leave Cuzco and go away. Joan Pizarro was advised of this by the spies whom he had set, because of being already suspicious on account of the deaths of the Christians and the riots [among] the people of Cuzco. On being advised of the flight of the Inga, Joan Pizarro and fifty cavalrymen sprang to horse, and, being informed as to where Mango Inga had gone, they went galloping after him, and, with the good luck which he [Joan Pizarro] had, he came up with him three leagues from Cuzco, near Molina [Muhyna, or Muyna] which is on the Collao road, and he took him prisoner to Cuzco. And if, at this juncture, this Indian had not been taken, all of us Spaniards who were in Cuzco would have died, because the great part of the Christians had gone out to see the Indians on their estates, because, up to that time, none had done so, there being but few Spaniards, and they not daring to go out singly [into the country], and also because

of the quarrels between Joan Pizarro and Almagro. And at this time Don Diego de Almagro went to Chile with so many troops that it seemed to them [the Indians] that everything was safe. And certainly Mango Inga had chosen the best opportunity and season for rising up, for Almagro was now far off, and was now entering the deserts which there are between this land and that of Chile, and which are more than two hundred leagues [wide] in some places. When Mango Inga was made a prisoner in this manner and was placed under guard, Hernando Pizarro, who had gone from Caxamalca to Spain, bearing the treasure of His Majesty, returned. When he had arrived at the city of the Kings, the Marquis sent him to Cuzco, giving him [high] authority, but not taking away from his brother Juan Pizarro the post of corregidor, albeit he gave authority over him to Hernando Pizarro. On arriving at Cuzco, Hernando Pizarro endeavoured to make a friend of Mango Inga; and thus he did, setting him at liberty and flattering him, for it likewise

appeared to him [Hernando Pizarro] that, with the number of troops he had brought to Cuzco, and with those who had come thither after the capture of this Indian, he [Mango] would not dare to follow out his evil plan of rising in rebellion. Having been released, Mango Inga was at liberty some days, at the end of which he asked permission of Hernando Pizarro [to leave the city], saying that he wished to go and bring a golden man which was hidden in a certain place, and Hernando Pizarro granted him leave. He went, and at the end of eight days he brought back an orejon made of hollow gold, and he gave it to Hernando Pizarro. Then, after some days, he again asked Hernando Pizarro for permission [to leave the city], saying that he wished to go in search of another Indian made of solid gold, which he said was at Yucay. And, the permission being granted to him, he went and did not return before he had begun to stir up the land and the Indians and the orejones who had remained in Cuzco and the mamaconas. All of these wept after him. Mango Inga took refuge in the Andes,

which is a land of very lofty and rugged mountains and very bad passes which it is impossible for horses to enter. And thither came many orejon captains from all over the land, in order that all the natives who could take arms should gather together and should lay siege to Cuzco and should kill all of us Spaniards who were there. When Hernando Pizarro learned that a force of warriors was being assembled at Yucay, he ordered Joan Pizarro his brother to go, with seventy cavalymen, to disperse the gathering there being made, and after we went there [we saw] on the other side of the very large river which there is in this [valley of] Yucay some ten thousand Indian warriors who believed that we would not be able to cross the river. Seeing this, Joan Pizarro ordered all of us to throw ourselves into the river and swim across it with our horses, and, with him doing so the first, we all followed him, and thus we crossed the river by swimming and attacked the Indian warriors and routed them, and the Indians withdrew to some high peaks toward

the mountains where the horses could not climb up. And while we were here for three or four days, Hernando Pizarro sent to call us with all speed, giving us to understand that a great force of troops was marching upon Cuzco, and so it was that, when we returned, we found many squadrons of troops who were continually arriving, and were camping in the roughest spots around Cuzco, waiting for all [their troops] to arrive, and when they had all come they camped on the plains and the heights. So numerous were the [Indian] troops who came here that they covered the fields, and by day it looked as if a black cloth had been spread over the ground for half a league around this city of Cuzco. At night there were so many fires that it looked like nothing other than a very serene sky full of stars. There was so much shouting and din of voices that all of us were astonished. When all the troops who that Inga had sent to assemble had arrived, it was understood, and the Indians said, that there were two hundred thousand of them who had come

to lay siege [to Cuzco]. When they were all assembled, as I say, one morning they began to set fire to all parts of Cuzco, and, by means of this fire they were gaining many portions of the town, making palisades in the streets so that the Spaniards could not go out through them. We Spaniards gathered together in the plaza and in the houses adjoining it, such as Hatuncancha. [I have already told where the Spaniards were lodged when we entered Cuzco for the first time], and here we were all collected, and some were in tents in the plaza, because the Indians had taken and burned all the rest of the town. And, in order to burn down these dwellings where, as I say, we were, they made [use of] a stratagem which was that of taking several round stones and of throwing them in the fire, where they became red hot. Wrapping them up in cotton, they threw them by means of slings into the houses which they could not reach by means of throwing by hand, and thus they burned our houses before we understood how. At other times they shot flaming arrows at

the houses, which, as they were of straw, soon took fire. While we were in this confusion, Hernando Pizarro divided the troops into three parties of cavalry, creating captains for them. To Gonzalo Pizarro his brother he gave one, to Grabiél de Rojas he gave another, and to Hernando Ponce de Leon he gave the other. These Indians had us so hard pressed and in so much confusion that it is certain that our Lord was pleased to deliver us by his own hands, because [we would surely have perished] on account of the many Indian warriors there were and on account of the small number of us Spaniards, not even two hundred all told, and of these only seventy or eighty cavalrymen did the fighting, because the rest were non-fighters and infantrymen, and these last did but little, for the Indians hold them in slight account, and it was certainly true that an Indian could fight better than a Spanish foot-soldier because the Indians are very free [in their movements] and they shoot at the Spaniards from a distance, and before the Spaniards can come up with them, they

have dashed off to some other place than that from which they fired the first shot and so they [the Indians] wear them out, and the Indians being so many they would kill them [the Spaniards] by means of cudgels. But the cavalry they feared greatly because they [the cavalry] could catch up with them and kill them as they swept by. Our Lord displayed to us his mercy in liberating us from so many foes and from such an evil land in order to enable us to avail ourselves of them. Hernando Pizarro agreed, therefore, [not to use] the infantry [much], making use [instead] of the cavalry for this business, because the greater part of the infantry were thin and debilitated men. He ordered that they [the infantry?] should go by night with some leaders who were named for the purpose, and who were Pedro del Barco, Diego Mendez and Villacastin, to throw down the palisades which the Indians were building by day and, with some friendly Indians, some fifty or sixty Cañares, who had remained in the service of the Spaniards and were enemies of Mango Inga

on account of having been men of Quizquiz, to break down some terraces, so that by day the cavalry might sally forth to fight; all this was of but slight avail at that time.

This city of Cuzco is founded in a hollow between two ravines through which, when it rains, run two brooks of but little water, and when it does not rain, the one which passes by the plaza carries but little water, and it always runs through some strips of plains which there are between the hills and Cuzco. All the andenes were of cut stone in the place where it would be possible to throw them down, some of them being an estado high, others more, others less. Some of them have at intervals stones projecting from the stonework of the anden, a braza or less [apart] in the manner of a ladder by which they went up and came down. This arrangement they had on these andenes because on all of them they sowed maize. And in order that the water might not destroy them they had them thus surrounded by stone [walls] as great as the amount of earth required. This Cuzco

is overhung by a hill on the side where the fortress is, and on this side the Indians came down [from the fortress] to [a spot] near the plaza which belonged to Gonzalo Pizarro and Joan Pizarro his brother, and from here they did us much harm, for with slings they hurled stones into the plaza [of Cuzco] without our being able to prevent it. This place being steep, as I say, [and being accessible only] through a narrow lane which the Indians had seized, so that it was not possible to go up through it without all those who entered it being killed, and while we were thus in a sufficiency of uneasiness, for certainly there was much din on account of the loud cries and alarums which they gave and the trumpets and flutes <sup>111</sup> which they sounded, so that it seemed as if the very earth trembled, Hernando Pizarro and his captains assembled many times to discuss what they should do, and some said that we ought to desert the town and leave it in flight; others said that we ought to establish ourselves in Hatuncancha, which was a great enclosure where

we might all be, and which, as I have already said, had but one doorway and a very high wall of stone masonry. And none of this advice was good, for had we sallied from Cuzco, they would have killed all of us in the bad passes and mountain fastnesses which there are, and had we taken refuge in the enclosure, they would have imprisoned us with adobes and stones because of the many troops which there were. So Hernando Pizarro was never in agreement, and he replied to them that we would all have to give up our lives and that we must not desert Cuzco. These consultations were attended by Hernando Pizarro and his brothers, by Grabiél de Rojas, Hernan Ponce de Leon and the treasurer Riquelme. Then, after they had had several meetings, Hernando Pizarro agreed that [an effort] to go and capture the fortress [should be made], for it was from there that we received the most harm, as I have said, because at the very beginning an agreement was not reached to take it before the Indians laid siege, nor was the importance of

holding it realized. This being agreed upon, a task was set us, and we of the cavalry were ordered to make ready with our arms to go and take it [the fortress], and Joan Pizarro his brother he [Hernando Pizarro] ordered to go as leader, and he gave the same orders to the other captains already mentioned. Hernando Pizarro remained in Cuzco with the infantry, all collected together where he ordered them to be. Then, a day before this sally, it befell that they [the Indians] shot a big stone from an anden, and it hit a soldier named Pedro del Barco, striking him on the head so that he fell upon the ground unconscious, and, seeing it, Joan Pizarro who was nearby, rushed to aid him, and then he was hit in the jaw by a large stone by which he was injured. I have wished to tell this in order [to explain] what I shall relate further on, concerning him. All the cavalry having set out, as I say, in order to take the fortress, taking Joan Pizarro as chief of all of them, we went up through Carmenga, a very narrow road, bordered on one side by a declivity and

on the other by a gully, deep in some places, and from this gully they did us much harm with stones and arrows, and they had broken down the road in some places and had made many holes in it. We went by this way and with much toil, for we kept stopping while the few friendly Indians, not even one hundred, whom we had with us filled up the holes and covered the road with adobes. Having climbed, with a sufficiency of hard work, up to a small flat place, where I said that they gave us the guacavara [battle] when we first entered Cuzco, and from there we went around some small hills and bad places in order to go and capture the flat part of the fortress where the principal gateway and entrance is, and in these little gullies we had encounters with the Indians, for they had almost captured two Spaniards who had fallen from their horses. When we arrived at the plain and gateway by which we were to enter, it was so well barricaded and so strong that, although we twice tried to enter, they forced us to retreat, wounding some horses, and so the captains

agreed to wait until midnight in order to attack them, because at that hour the Indians are somnolent and half asleep. To go back now to Hernando Pizarro, who remained in Cuzco. The Indians came out into the streets and entered the houses, because they believed that we were deserting the city. At another place they saw that Hernando Pizarro and the infantry were all together. They could not understand what was being done, and so they were astonished until they saw us attack the fortress from one side, and then they understood what we were doing. And it is certain that if the Indians had fallen upon the truth sooner, and that if God our Lord had not blinded them, they would have been able to slay very well Joan Pizarro and those who were with him before we could have returned to succour them. While Joan Pizarro and those of us who were with him were awaiting the coming of night, it grew dark, and Joan Pizarro ordered his brother Gonzalo Pizarro and the other captains to enter [the fortress] with half of the cavalry, whom he ordered to

alight, and [he commanded] the others to be on horseback ready to aid them, and Joan Pizarro remained with the mounted men, because he was not able to put armour upon his head, it being torn by the wound which he had received on his jaw, as I said, on the day they attacked him. Then, entering [the fortress], those who were going afoot began to throw down very slowly the first gateway which was barricaded with a wall of dry stone, and when it was taken down they began to go forward up a narrow path. And on arriving at the barricade of the other wall, they were perceived by the Indians, and these began to throw so many stones that the ground was torn up, and this caused the Spaniards to grow cool [to their task] and they desisted and did not press forward. While things were thus, a Spaniard cried out to Joan Pizarro, saying that the Spaniards were retreating and were fleeing. Hearing this cry, Joan Pizarro placed a shield upon his arm and hurled himself into the fortress, ordering us who were mounted to follow him, and so we did, and

with the arrival of Joan Pizarro and the mounted men at the second barricade and gateway, it was won, and we entered as far as a courtyard which is in the fortress. Then, from a terrace which is on one side of this courtyard, they showered us with so many stones and arrows that we could avail ourselves naught, and for this reason Joan Pizarro incited some infantrymen toward the terrace which I mention, which was low, so that some Spaniards might get up on it and drive the Indians from there. And while he was fighting with these Indians in order to drive them away, Joan Pizarro neglected to cover his head with his shield, and one of the many stones which they were hurling hit him on the head and broke his skull, and inside of a fortnight he died of this wound. Even though thus wounded, he was fighting with the Indians until this terrace was won, and when it was gained, they took him down to Cuzco by the road which, as I have said, goes down to Cuzco and is short and very steep, and from whence they did us harm

and now the Indians had left it, and by that road they took Joan Pizarro down to where Hernando Pizarro was. On learning the disaster which had befallen his brother and of the state in which the capture of the fortress was left, he [Hernando Pizarro] soon went up there, leaving Grabiél de Rojas [in charge] in Cuzco. When Hernando Pizarro arrived [at the fortress] it had already dawned, and we were all of this day and the next fighting with the Indians who had collected together on the two topmost levels, which could only be gained by means of thirst, awaiting the time when their water should give out, and so it happened that we were here two or three days until their water came to an end, and when it had given out, they hurled themselves from the highest walls, some in order to flee, and others in order to kill themselves, and others surrendered, and in this way they began to lose courage, and so was gained one level. And we arrived at the last level [which] had as its captain an orejon so valiant that the same might be written of him as has been

written of some Romans. This orejon bore a shield upon his arms and a sword in his hand and a cudgel in the shield-hand and a morion upon his head. These arms this man had taken from the Spaniards who had perished upon the roads, as well as many others which the Indians had in their possession. This orejon, then, marched like a lion from one end to another of the highest level of all, preventing the Spaniards who wished to mount with ladders from doing so, and killing the Indians who surrendered, for I understand that he killed more than thirty Indians because they [tried] to surrender and to glide down from the level, and he attacked them with blows upon the head from the cudgel which he carried in his hand. Whenever one of his men warned him that some Spaniard was climbing up in some place, he rushed at him like a lion, with his sword and grasping his shield. Seeing this, Hernando Pizarro commanded that three or four ladders be set up, so that while he was rushing to one point, they might climb up at another, for

the Indians which this orejon had with him were all now either surrendered or lacking in courage, and it was he alone who was fighting. And Hernando Pizarro ordered those Spaniards who climbed up not to kill this Indian but to take him alive, swearing that he would not kill him if he had him alive. Then, climbing up at two or three places, the Spaniards won the level. This orejon, perceiving that they had conquered him and had taken his stronghold at two or three points, threw down his arms, covered his head and face with his mantle and threw himself down from the level to a spot more than one hundred estados below, where he was shattered. Hernando Pizarro was much grieved that they had not taken him alive. Having won this fortress, Hernando Pizarro stationed here fifty infantrymen with a captain named Joan Ortiz, a native of Toledo, providing them with many vessels in which they had water and food, and fortifying the part where they were to be. And he left them some crossbows and arquebuses, and we went down to

Cuzco. And the taking of the fortress was the reason why the Indians withdrew a little, giving up the part of the city which they had gained. In this manner we were on the alert during more than two months, tearing down some andenes by night so that the horsemen might go up by that route, because the Indians always withdrew at night to the strongest and most secure place, and this withdrawal was always to some strong andenes.

Now I shall relate certain things which befell at this time. When Grabiél de Rojas was going out toward his dwelling, which was toward Andesuyos, at the exit from the town he received an arrow wound on the nose, and the arrow went as far in as the palate, and the Indians threw down upon Alonso de Toro and others who were going with him up a street toward the fortress so many stones and adobes from the walls, so that they dislodged them from their horses and half covered them up, and it was necessary to call the friendly Indians in order that they might be helped to crawl out half dead. While

Pedro Pizarro was mounting guard on a large anden, so that the Indians should not go forward, with two companions from the morning until mid-day, which was the arrangement that had been made, Hernan Ponce de Leon, who was his captain, came to rest and eat, and he [Pedro Pizarro] advanced to meet him as he was approaching his post, and he asked him to dismount there and there eat, and to send his horse to rest, taking another belonging to Alonso de Mesa, who was sick, and then return to mount guard, for he [Ponce de Leon] had no one else to send. Pedro Pizarro did so and, eating some mouthfuls of food, he took the horse of Alonso de Mesa and returned to a large anden which was an arquebuse-shot in length where he found one Maldonado, who was he who allotted the watches, and one Juan Clemente and one Francisco de la Puente. And when they saw him return they asked him how it was that he did so. When he told them the reason, Maldonado said: You stay here with these two gentlemen, because I wish to go and

eat and set the guards. This Maldonado was he whom Gonzalo Pizarro sent as messenger to His Majesty when he was in revolt. While they were in this talk about Maldonado's desire to go off, the Indian warriors drew near to them, and Maldonado attacked them with the others before Pizarro could come down from the anden whence he had been talking with them [Maldonado, etc.], and not seeing some great hollows which they [the Indians] had covered over beforehand, Maldonado fell into one with his horse, and Pedro Pizarro dashed after the Indians by some paths which they left between the holes, resisting the Indians and driving them away, and this gave Maldonado and his horse a chance to come out of the hole much injured and go to Cuzco. Then Pedro Pizarro and Juan Clemente remained in the said strong places, and the Indians drew very near, making mock of them. While this was going on, Pedro Pizarro said to his two companions: Let us drive off these Indians and catch up with some of them, for the holes lie behind us. But they

had not seen some other small ones which were placed in the end of the anden so that the horses should put their feet into them and fall down. And, spurting toward the Indians, all three dashed out, attacking them with lances. And from the middle of the anden the two companions returned to their post, but Pedro Pizarro impetuously went on lancing the Indians until [he came to] the end of the anden. And when he wished to wheel about, his horse put his feet in some small holes and fell, throwing Pedro Pizarro. Seeing this, the Indians dashed up to him, and one Indian came and took the horse by the reins and led him off. Then, raising himself, Pedro Pizarro made for the Indian who was taking away the horse and he gave him a stab in the breast which hurled him dead upon the ground. The horse being thus freed, the Indians threw many stones at him, and he began to flee, and he fled to the place where the other two [Spaniards] were. Then the Indians surrounded Pedro Pizarro with many slings, giving him many blows with stones

and lances. And Pedro Pizarro defended himself with a shield which he grasped and with a sword in his hand, making thrusts to one side or another at the Indians who drew near to him, killing and wounding some of them. When the two companions saw the free horse without its master, they hastened to aid him, and when they came to where Pedro Pizarro was fighting, they dashed through the Indians and placed him [Pizarro] between the two horses, telling him to seize the stirrups, and they took him at full speed for a distance [he running between the horses]. But the Indians who clung around were so numerous that it was all of no avail, and Pedro Pizarro, on account of his many arms and the weariness of fighting, could not now run, and he told his companions to stop for he was being throttled and that he preferred to die fighting than by being choked to death. And so he stopped and turned to fight with the Indians, and those on horseback did the same on their part, and they could not drive them [the Indians] off because they were very san-

guine, and believing that they' [the Indians] had taken him [Pedro Pizarro] prisoner, they gave a great shout, all of them, from every side, which it was their wont to do when they took a Spaniard or a horse prisoner. Hearing this shout, Grabel de Rojas, who was returning to his quarters with ten cavalymen, looked in the direction where he saw the disturbance and the fighting, and he hastened thither with his men, and by his arrival Pedro Pizarro was rescued, albeit much tormented by the blows which they had given him with stones and lances. And so Pedro Pizarro freed himself and his horse, our Lord God aiding him, and giving him the strength to fight and to support the toil. To another man, Garci Martin, they gave a blow in the eye with a stone which spoiled the eye. The Indians took away the horse of one Cisneros who had dismounted and was losing courage, and the Indians came up, took away his horse and then cut off his [Cisneros'] hands and feet. A good soldier named Joan Vasquez de Osuna placed Cisneros across his horse, for he never

could have mounted, not having the vigour, and thus we got him out from among the Indians. Mancio Serra, while going up a rather steep slope, was careless and fell off his horse, and the Indians came up and took him and cut off his hands and feet, for this is what the Indians did to all the horsemen whom they took. One day, while these things were going on, a company of Indians again appeared above Carmenga, and when some cavalymen went out to meet them, they threw at them a sack containing the dried heads of seven Spaniards and many letters, and one of our Indians took it, thinking it was something else, and they found these heads of Spaniards, as I say, and [with them] the joyful news which came to this land of the taking of la Goleta and Tunez.<sup>112</sup> The Inga did this by the advice of a Spaniard whom he held prisoner and who told him that the heads of the dead men would give us much sorrow. The Spaniard did this so that we might have the joyful news. It is understood that, in this uprising of Mango Inga, more than three hundred

Spaniards died along the roads and in the towns, together with a few captains whom the Marquis sent to Cuzco with a few troops, such men as one captain Gaete [who died] in Xauxa, and a Diego Pizarro whom they killed there with the soldiers he was leading.

Now I shall relate a miracle which befell in Cuzco and by which the Indians were much dismayed. It happened that the Indians wished to set fire to the church, for they said that if they burned it, they would kill us all. It befell that the stone or arrow which should have set fire to the church, as I have already said, the church took fire and began to burn, for it was of straw, and, though no one put this fire out, it extinguished itself, and many of us saw it, for thus it was. And seeing this, many of the Indians were dismayed; and, as their food was running short, for the siege was now at the end of its fourth month, the Indians began to go away and to drop out [of the fight] and to go home to their lands, nor were their captains able to detain them, and [they did so] also because the time

for sowing the crops was at hand. And we learned afterwards that a captain named Gualparoca who was in the fortress came out with his men, and Mango Inga sent him to the city of the Kings in order to find out if the Spaniards who were there with the Marquis could be killed, telling him that if he killed them, *he* [Mango] would put an end to us by means of hunger and the evil passes [in the countryside]. And so, having gone to Lima, they say that they laid siege to it, and some Indians were engaged upon it. And as [the land around Lima] was yungas,<sup>113</sup> and a bad land for mountaineers, they were there but a few days, and, seeing that they could [do no harm to] the Spaniards, they returned to the highlands.

From the time when they laid siege to the time when the fortress was taken something more than a month passed by, and in this interval the greatest torment and risk were supported. And when they attacked us from all sides and set fire [to the houses] we placed two Spaniards in the straw of the houses where we were so that they would not burn us up.

These two Spaniards did not hide themselves, believing that the Indians had already conquered us. Hernando Pizarro affronted one of these men, and he wished to hang the other, but [yielding to] demands, he desisted. Another Spaniard fled from us to the Indians, and they carried him to where Mango Inga was, which was in Tambo, and this man, as well as one Francisco Martin whom the Inga had with him and whom they had taken prisoner upon the road, the Inga kept with him, placing a guard over them, and did not kill them. And they believed whatever this Francisco Martin said and asked. Between the time when we took the fortress and the time when the Indians began to go away to their own lands, there passed by three months, and this interval having elapsed they withdrew to some high hills, and this state continued until, after another month, they went off to sow their crops, which makes the four months I mention. Finally all were gone, and the orejones and some warriors gathered together at Tambo where the Inga had forti-

fied himself, awaiting the passing of winter and the [harvesting of the] crops of the Indians. They said they were going to lay siege [to Cuzco] again. This Tambo is down the river from Yucay, in the direction of the Andes, for there is another Tambo in Condesuyo, as I have said, of which place the Ingas, Lords of this land, were natives, for thus they say themselves.<sup>114</sup>

Matters being in this state, Hernando Pizarro agreed to send fifteen cavalrymen with a captain who was to go out by way of the Canches one night in order to go and inform the Marquis that we were still alive and [ask him to] send us aid. Having made ready fifteen men, whose names I shall tell here for they were the best horsemen and the strongest in war which there were, it was learned that if they went forth the people of Cuzco would be in peril for two reasons: The chief one was that [their going] would create a great weakness in [our powers] of sustaining the war, and the other was that if the Indians killed them, as there was great risk that they do upon the

road unless our Lord wished them to escape, the Indians would be re-invigourated and would take more courage in order to kill those who remained in Cuzco. Being in readiness and all prepared to set forth, Don Alonso Enriquez <sup>115</sup> and the treasurer Riquelme met together with other chief men, and they made a petition to Hernando Pizarro that he send them not, for if he did send them, Cuzco would be lost and His Majesty would be ill served, for they were the flower of those who were in readiness to go. I shall tell here the names of those of us who were in readiness to set forth: Juan de Pancorbo, Alonso de Mesa, Valdivieso, Pedro Pizarro, Hernando de Aldana, Alonso de Toro, Juan Jullio, Cárdenas, Escastenda, Miguel Cornejo, Solar, Tomas Vasquez, Joan Roman, Figueroa, Villafuerte. And certainly Don Alonso Enriquez and the treasurer Riquelme and others who opposed the going forth of these men were right, because many of them bore the brunt of the war and the defense of Cuzco. Having heard the petition, Hernando Pizarro changed his opinion, per-

ceiving that what they asked was well considered. So we remained some days, carrying on the war until the Indian warriors left us, as I have said. While matters were as I describe them, we lacked for food, especially for meat. Hernando Pizarro decided, therefore, that Grabiél de Rojas should go forth with sixty men toward Gomacanche, a province which is thirteen or fourteen leagues from Cuzco in the direction of the Collao, and [he ordered him] not to go further away and to search among these Canches for some cattle and foodstuffs and, finding it, to return with it speedily. Having made ready, Rojas and those of us who were to go with him, set forth and thither we went, and we were there about twenty-five or thirty days, and we collected as many as two thousand head of cattle, and we returned to Cuzco with them without any untoward events. The Indians assembled upon the very high hills, and thence they yelled at us when we could not attack them. When we had returned to Cuzco and had rested for some days, we again made ready so

that we might go out with Hernan Ponce de Leon, and we went to Condesuyo to burn some villages and punish the folk whom we found there and to gather some food together, because in this Condesuyo it was that the first Christians were killed. They [the Indians] sent to summon one Simon Xuarez who had Indians there, and other [Spaniards] telling them that [if] they would go to see their villages they [the Indians] would give them tribute, and by means of this deceit they killed ten Spaniards, and in order to punish them for this and to bring back some food we went with this captain already mentioned, and we were there some days, although no people could be found on whom to inflict punishment. Collecting some food, we returned.

While we were in this Condesuyo, the Inga caused troops to gather at Xaquixaguana and in Chinchero, which is four leagues from Cuzco toward the place where he was. Hernando Pizarro learned this from some scouts whom they kept sending to reconnoitre in the country, and he sent [orders] to his brother Gon-

zalo Pizarro to attack them before they should finish assembling and should come to Cuzco. Gonzalo Pizarro set forth and attacked a part of the [Indian] troops who were in the region of Chinchero, where he overtook some Indians and routed them, and, returning by way of Xaquixaguana, he found a great body of troops assembled, and, dashing on to fight with them they [the Indians] constrained them to retreat to Cuzco, and the Indians gave chase and wore them out so much that they [the Indians] even laid hands upon the tails of the horses. And while they were thus coming [toward Cuzco] greatly fatigued and in grave danger, some friendly yanaconas came fleeing to give warning to Hernando Pizarro and to tell him of the grave peril in which his brother was. Hearing this, Hernando Pizarro ordered that all the bells should ring out in order that all the troops might assemble, and, having gathered together some cavalry, he went off with them to aid his brother and those who were with him, and both trotting and galloping he went more than a league

outside of Cuzco where he saw the Spaniards who were now in great danger for the horses could no longer run, but were coming instead very slowly, and Indians were hastening up from all directions. Then, Hernando Pizarro and those who were with him spurring their horses, they came to where they were, and with their arrival the Indians lost courage and dropped back, for they were hanging to the tails of the horses, as I say, and fighting with the Christians. And with this help those who were coming worn out took heart, and all together they returned to Cuzco. Here we were like all to be lost, for, Hernan Ponce having returned, as I say, we were all resting and were making ready to go to Tambo where the Inga had fortified himself, in order to drive him thence, because as he was there near the assemblies of troops, he sent them, from time to time, to Cuzco and its neighbourhood in order to prevent [our using] the pastures.

All having been made ready, as has been said, we set forth for Tambo, leaving Grabiél

de Rojas in Cuzco with the weakest troops, and when we were arrived we found Tambo so well fortified that it was a grim sight, for the place where Tambo is is very strong, and [it has] very high andenes of very large masonry walls, well fortified. It has but one entrance, and that is over against a very steep hill. And on all parts of it were many warriors with many large stones which they kept above in order to hurl them down whenever the Spaniards wished to enter and capture the gate. The doorway was high, with lofty walls on either side, and it was well stopped up with stone and mud in the form of a very thick wall of stone and mud with only a hole through which an Indian might enter on all fours. At another place near this village of Tambo the river of Yucay which there is large, runs very narrow and deep, and likewise, on that side, they have many very high andenes, very steep and strong. Then, before this Tambo, there is a tiny plain which is formed in front of the gate which I have mentioned, and this plain is near the

river already mentioned. Having crossed the river we took this plain, but when we wished to attack the gate, so many were the boulders and stones which they threw down at us that, even had there been many more Spaniards than there were of us, they would have slain us all. They killed one of our horses and wounded some Spaniards. With this event which overtook us, the [Indian] troops began to throw [stones?] down from a very steep hill which resembled nothing else than a very thick ant-hill. When we made two or three attempts to take this village, just so often did they turn and injure us by hand. Thus we continued all day until sunset. The Indians, without our knowing of it [beforehand] turned the river into the plain where we were, and, had we waited a longer time, we would all have perished. When we understood the trick which the Indians played upon us and that it was impossible to take this village at that time, Hernando Pizarro ordered us to retreat. And in the darkening night he sent all the foot-soldiers ahead and the luggage with some

mounted troops who were of his guard next, and he himself with other mounted troops took the middle, and he ordered Gonzalo Pizarro his brother with a few more of us cavalymen to take the rearguard, and in this formation we withdrew. And at the passage across the river the Indians attacked us with so much fury and with flaming axes which they carried that they killed some of the friendly Indians in our service without our being able to succour them. These Indians have a trait of character which makes them demons for following up a victory, and when they flee they are wet hens. And, seeing us retreat, they were here following up a victory, and they followed it up with much spirit. This night we retired to a village which is called Maray, a deserted place which is in the heights above the descent into this valley of Yucay, and from there all is flat country to the entrance to Cuzco. Returning thus shattered to Cuzco, as I say, it was ever in order to have six or eight horsemen out scouting the country. Then, on coming one day

toward Xaquixaguana in order to capture some Indians in order to know what they were doing, Gonzalo Pizarro, with six horsemen who were Pedro Pizarro, Alonso de Toro, Narvaez, Beltran del Conde, Cárdenas, Joan Lopez, it happened that a thousand Indian warriors crossed a plain from one range of mountains to the other, from Circa to Llaexa, just before reaching Xaquixaguana. When we saw them going through the plains we spurred our horses and caught up with them just as they were beginning to climb a hill where is the village called Circa. And catching them on the slope which they were climbing, we drove them all down on to the plain, and of the thousand Indians who, they say, were there only a few more than one hundred escaped. Some of them we killed, and some of them we took prisoners to Cuzco, and in Cuzco Hernando Pizarro ordered that their right hands be cut off, after which they were to go away. This the Indians said, for it [the hand-cutting] had placed great fear among them, and they did not dare now to come to

the plains. Then after some days had gone by, maize ran short, and Hernando Pizarro ordered his brother Gonzalo to go to Xaquixaguana with thirty cavalymen and to stay there sheltering the friendly Indians who were to go [with him] in search of food [for in this Xaquixaguana there was much maize] and [he was ordered] to send each day six cavalymen who were to go two leagues protecting the Indians who were bringing the food, and from Cuzco six other horsemen were to go forth for two leagues or until those coming from one direction should see those coming from another, and thus they proceeded until sunset, when some withdrew to Cuzco and others to Xaquixaguana. This order was given in order to protect the friendly Indians who were going and coming for food. It befell one day when six of us had set forth upon this vexatious guard duty, which was common in this land later on, Lucas Martinez, Cárdenas, Miguel Cornejo, Juan Flores, Pedro Pizarro. When we had mounted guard near a gully where Machicao later built his

mill, and when we had mountèd in order to go forward two by two, Miguel Cornejo and Pedro Pizarro were the two last. While we were thus journeying we heard the friendly Indians cry out, saying: *Aucas, aucas*, which means in their language: *Indian warriors*. We all turned our faces to see what was forward, and we did not see the Indians because they were coming through the ravine, hidden between two hills. And, as we saw nothing, we believed that our friends were doing thus in order to spur one another on. We turned to journey onwards slowly and we had not gone ten paces when we heard the Indian warriors fighting with our friends, striking them upon the heads with clubs, which killed them. And at once we turned back at full speed, for it was upon a plain that this befell, and though we arrived speedily, we could not get more than two or three Indians, one of whom Miguel Cornejo slew and another Pedro Pizarro, and a third was trampled under foot and was killed by Pedro de Hinojosa. And all the rest climbed up some hills, because there

they were in good luck, for we could do them no more harm, and so we returned to Cuzco.

When we were in great anxiety at the beginning of the siege, we always kept watch, I should say every night. And [even] in the intervals of our repose we were armed and our horses were saddled and bridled, for the noise made by the Indians was so great that if one were not very tired he was not able to sleep. The rest of the time, until the Indians went away, we kept watch in our rooms. When they had gone we watched on alternate nights. This lasted for some six months, until Almagro returned from Chile, as I shall relate further on.

Now I wish to tell who the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro and his brothers, and Don Diego de Almagro, were and what was their condition. Also I shall tell the names and lands of some of these conquerors whom I have mentioned, as many as I shall remember. The Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro was a son of Gonzalo Pizarro the One-eyed, a captain of men-at-arms and a native of Trujillo. He

[Francisco Pizarro] was a very Christian man, and very zealous in the service of His Majesty. He was tall and spare, having a good face and a thin beard. Personally he was valiant and vigourous, a truthful man. It was his custom whenever anyone asked him for anything always to say No. He said this in order that he might not fail to keep his word. And, though he said no, he always did in the end what was asked of him, if there were not reason against it. One morning a conqueror was waiting for him at the door of his dwelling, to ask him for [an encomienda of] Indians which was at Guaitara, and who afterwards belonged to Cárdenas, a citizen of Guamanga. The Marquis was accustomed to arise an hour before dawn. This conqueror, whose name I do not recall, was waiting for him, and the Marquis went out into Xauxa from his dwelling in order to go to that of his secretary Pero Sancho. This fellow came up to the Marquis and said to him: Lord, will not your Lordship give me food? The Marquis replied: I tell you I do not wish to; did you not hear a

proclamation which was made? Why then do you not settle down, then food would have been given to you. This man then said to him: Lord, I wished to go to Castille, and for that reason I did not settle, and now I have failed to go. The Marquis turned to say to him: I tell you I do not wish to, for I have nothing to give you. The man said to him: Will not your Lordship give me Guaitara? Again he replied: I tell you that I do not wish to do so. These words were exchanged while they were walking, and before arriving at his secretary's dwelling, he turned to the man who made the request and said to him: Tell me, is that Guaitara granted? The man replied: No, my Lord. The Marquis answered: Take it, and go so that they may give you the deposit. I have wished to tell this in order that his goodness might be understood. Don Diego de Almagro was the opposite, for he said yes to all and fulfilled his word with very few. This Don Diego de Almagro never was found in debt. He said he came from Almagro. He was a very

profane man of very bad language, and when he was angered he treated very badly those who were with him, even though they were gentlemen, and for this reason the Marquis did not entrust him with troops, for they went with him very unwillingly. This Almagro was well made, valiant in war, and a spendthrift, although he did but few favours, and those he did were profane and not done to those who served him.

The Marquis brought with him his three brothers, Hernando Pizarro, Joan Pizarro and Gonzalo Pizarro. Hernando Pizarro was a man of very good stature, valiant, wise and brave, albeit a heavy man in the saddle. Joan Pizarro was valiant and very courageous, a good fellow, magnanimous and affable. Gonzalo Pizarro was valiant, but he knew little; he had a good countenance and a fine beard; he was a compact man, not large, and a very good cavalryman. Hernando de Soto was a small man, dexterous in Indian warfare and affable with the soldiers. They say that this Soto was a native of Badajoz. It

was he who went later to Florida as governor. Grabiél de Rojas was a very prudent man in war; he had a good person. They said that he was of the good Rojas family. Hernan Ponce de Leon was a well disposed man, cautious, and not a cavalryman. He was looked upon as a gentleman and was well educated. Joan de Pancorbo was a good soldier; he is a citizen of Cuzco and a native of Pancorbo. Alonso de Mesa was a good soldier; he is a citizen of Cuzco and a native of Toledo. Valdivieso was a good soldier and a very good man in war; he was regarded as a gentleman and was a citizen of Cuzco and a native of Toro. Pedro Pizarro was a man in the war and a very good cavalryman. The Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro took him [to Peru] at the age of fifteen years as his page, and he was eighteen when he began to take part in warfare. He distinguished himself in some things. He was of the good Pizarro family of Estremadura. This Pedro Pizarro was born in Toledo; he was a citizen of Xauxa, later of Cuzco, and now of Arequipa. Hernando de

Aldana was a good man in war; he was a citizen of Cuzco and was regarded as a gentleman. Alonso de Toro was a good man in war; he was a citizen of Cuzco and a native of Trujillo. He was regarded as a gentleman. Juan Jullio was a good man in war; he was a citizen of Cuzco and was looked upon as a gentleman. Cárdenas was a good horseman and a good man in war; he was a citizen of Guamanga. Castenda was a good cavalryman and a good man in war; they said that he was from the Condado; he had Indians. Miguel Cornejo was a good man on horseback and in war; he was a citizen of Cuzco and afterwards of Arequipa; he was from Salamanca. Solar was a good man in war and on horseback; he was a citizen of Cuzco. Tomás Vazquez was a good man on horseback and a good man in war; he was a citizen of Cuzco. They said that he was from the Condado. Juan Roman was a good cavalryman and a good man in war; he was a citizen of Cuzco. Figueroa was a good man on horseback and in war; he was a citizen of

Cuzco. Villafuerte was a good man in war; he was a citizen of Cuzco and afterwards of Arequipa. Of many others I might speak, but shall not do so for fear of prolixity. I have mentioned these because they were men distinguished in the war and by some grave peril, such as going from Cuzco to Lima when the land was all in revolt and the roads destroyed. In this siege of Cuzco there were seventy men distinguished in the war, and Hernando Pizarro had a proverb to the effect that with them he would dare to attack three times as many. Of these seventy they selected fifteen, and of these fifteen three are alive today: Pedro Pizarro, citizen of Arequipa; Joan de Pancorbo and Alonso de Mesa, citizens of Cuzco.

Now I shall return to the war. While we were in Cuzco, as I have said, six horsemen went out every week to scout the country and find out if aid were coming from Lima. One day when he was out with six horsemen, Gonzalo Pizarro captured two Indians from whom we had the news that Don Diego de

Almagro was returning from Chile with all the troops he had taken with him, and it should not have been so, for, with his return, he set aflame this kingdom, and it was the beginning of the battles which have taken place therein, and [he was the] cause of the great number of pretenders, with such scant merits, as most pretenders are, and many of them hold, as the result of these battles, the best portions of the land. And the unfortunate men who conquered it [possess] the least valuable and most miserable portions [of the land], as I shall relate in part further on, together with the cause of it. We learned from these two Indians that there was in Xauxa a captain with soldiers, who afterwards transpired to be Alonso de Alvarado. He had set out from Lima in order to bring aid to Cuzco, and, at the request of Picado the secretary, who made him a captain, taking that office away from Pedro de Lerma, for it had been agreed that Alonso de Alvarado, who was in Chachapoyas, should come to Xauxa, he promised Picado that he would not set forth from Xauxa without leaving the

Indians and shepherds whom he [Picado] held in encomienda there in a state of pacification, nor did he understand that, until the leader [of the Indians] who was Mango Inga should be overthrown, it was impossible to hold any province in peace. Alonso de Alvarado, then, by stopping in Xauxa, for the reason I have related, during four or five months, was the cause of Almagro's entering Cuzco before him. For, had Alonso de Alvarado entered first, and had Hernando Pizarro been made powerful with Spanish soldiery, as he would have been with the arrival of Alvarado, had he arrived first, Don Diego de Almagro would never have dared to do what he did do in Cuzco upon his arrival there. And so [it may be said] neither would he [Almagro] have been killed, nor would so many misadventures and battles have befallen as those which began at this time. While we were in possession of this news, within a few days came other, to the effect that Almagro and his troops had arrived at Urcos, six leagues from Cuzco, and from here he was treating, by means of

Indian messengers, with Mango Inga, who was his friend, as I have said, on account of his [Almagro's] having killed, at his request, his two brothers before setting out for Chile. Then Almagro sent one Rui Diaz to Mango Inga as a messenger, asking him [Mango] to come out in peace for he [Almagro] was his friend. When Rui Diaz was arrived where Mango Inga was, he [Mango] received him very well, making enquiries after Almagro and his troops and other matters, and he kept him [Diaz] with him in this way for some days, and on the third day he [Mango] put a question to him which, according to what Rui Diaz reported, was in this form: Tell me, Rui Diaz, if I were to give to the King a very great treasure, would he withdraw all the Christians from this land? Rui Diaz replied: How much would you give? Rui Diaz said that he then had brought a fanega of maize and had it turned out upon the ground before Mango Inga, and of the pile he took one grain, and said: As much as this grain is the quantity of silver and gold which you have found for the

Christians, and in comparison what you have not found is as this fanega from which I take this grain. This maize is a food better than wheat, and these natives eat it, and it is found in all these Indies, and as it is now common in Spain I explain no further. Rui Diaz said to Mango Inga: Even though you were to give to the King all these peaks made in gold and silver, yet would he not draw from this land the Spaniards [in it]. Hearing this, Mango Inga said to him: Get you gone, Rui Diaz, and say to Almagro that he may go where he will, for I am bound to die, and all my people are, as well, until we have made an end to the Christians; get you gone soon, and say to Almagro that I come not to see him [because he had sent to ask him to come and have an interview in Yucay]. Having set forth from Tambo, Rui Diaz encountered Almagro half a league from this Tambo, for he was going to see the Inga [and find out] what had been agreed with him, and he [Almagro] was taking with him half of his troops, and the other half he had left at

Urcos, fortified in a fortress of stones which was there, in a narrow place at the entrance of the village. Hernando Pizarro, learning of the arrival of Almagro at Urcos, and not understanding the dealings which he had with the Inga, nor knowing how he had gone from Urcos to see him at Tambo, because, while these dealings were going on between the Inga and Almagro the Indians who served him [Pizarro?] were in peace, and so he could go by the road he took, for, had they been at war, it would have been impossible to go by that road without all being killed. So Hernando Pizarro ordered all his troops to make ready so that we might go to Urcos to find out if the arrival of Almagro was a fact, and to find out what was the cause of his having repaired thither instead of going to Cuzco. Having arrived at a plain which lies at the entrance of Urcos, having had some skirmishes with the Indians who were at war along the route, [we saw that] some of Almagro's Spaniards came out, armed as if for war, and with reserve they spoke to Hernando Pizarro, tell-

ing him that Almagro was not there, having gone to see the Inga. And from this Hernando Pizarro understood the evil intention with which Almagro had come, which was to take Cuzco by force, not keeping the sworn agreement which he had made with his companion the Marquis. And, though he [Almagro] might have settled in the Charcas or in Arequipa [he did not do so] neither did he do it in Chile. And, although his men besought him to settle a town there, he did not do so, for fear of lessening his forces and coming with less power to stir Cuzco up into rebellion and take it by force of arms, as he did. When Hernando Pizarro and those of us who were with him understood all that I have just said, he returned to Cuzco without stopping, fearing lest Don Diego de Almagro should enter Cuzco from Yucay before he got back. When we had arrived at Cuzco, Almagro had not yet set forth from Yucay, and on the morning of the next day those who had remained at Urcos and those who had gone with Almagro re-united into one force before

Cuzco. Well might Hernando Pizarro have routed the Spaniards who had remained in Urcos had he wished to do so, but he believed that Almagro would keep the sworn agreement which he had made with his companion the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro. And, in order that His Majesty might not be ill served, he did not do so, although he well understood the evil intention which Almagro had.

Don Diego de Almagro having assembled his troops, as has been said, they all came together and established their Camp upon some andenes near Cuzco where now is the monastery of simple and pious Saint Francis. Before they arrived there and established themselves, Hernando Pizarro sent [a messenger] to talk with him [Almagro] and to ask him to take up his residence in one half of Cuzco while he [Hernando Pizarro] and those of us who were with him there would be in the other half, and [he suggested that] from there a messenger might be sent to the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro in order that he might know of his [Almagro's] coming and

might give orders as to the estate and situation of Don Diego de Almagro and his men. Don Diego de Almagro did not agree to this, but rather asked that Hernando Pizarro give Cuzco up to him freely. In all this there were many messages and proposals on the part of Hernando Pizarro, who well understood that it was not possible to prevent the evil purposes of Almagro, who never agreed to any plan or agreement which was made to him, save only that they give Cuzco up to him freely. While these matters were going on between them, a truce was made for the drawing up of these demands. And while this truce was still in force, and before it had half run its course, Don Diego de Almagro entered Cuzco one night at midnight with drum and fife from three sides, and he took Cuzco and entered the plaza without meeting with resistance, for he [Hernando Pizarro] did not know that he [Almagro] was going to break the truce, and soon the said Don Diego de Almagro with his chief men went to the houses where Hernando Pizarro lived, in order to

take him prisoner. Hernando Pizarro had with him some friends in a galpón where he was living [galpón means a dwelling], a very large one with an entrance at one end of the room from which could be seen the whole interior, for the doorway is so wide that it extends from one wall to the other, and it is open up to the roof. These Indians have these galpones for their orgies. They have others with the ends closed up and provided with many doors in the middle or to one side. These galpones are very large, without any partitions, being instead open and clear. While Hernando Pizarro was in this galpón, in the midst of the houses where he lived, [he heard] the noise which the entry of Almagro into Cuzco with his troops stirred up, and Hernando Pizarro with those of his men who were with him came out armed and stationed themselves at the door of this galpón. Almagro and his men, arrived at this door with the intention of taking him prisoner, and they were fighting there a great while, for, although those who were with Hernando Pizarro were

few, they [Almagro and his men] could not force an entrance through them. Hernando Pizarro had with him about twenty men, and Almagro had about three hundred, because, as I have said, Hernando Pizarro did not have more men with him on account of the truce and his belief that it would be kept. Hernan Ponce de Leon and Rojas and others here injured Hernando Pizarro, and they failed him and his friends, and for this reason, and on account of the truce, Almagro entered so much at his ease, for otherwise it would have cost him a goodly number of lives before he effected an entrance. While fighting, as I say, with Hernando Pizarro at the door of this galpón, Almagro having wounded some of those whom Hernando Pizarro had with him with darts, and seeing that Hernando Pizarro did not intend to surrender, he ordered that [the roof of] this galpón where Hernando Pizarro was, be set on fire, for it was of straw, and until it began to fall in flames, never would Hernando Pizarro have wished to give himself up, nor would he ever have done so

except for the fact that they would have held it against him and he would have been condemned if he [and his men] had been burned there. And, understanding this, and seeing that the fire was falling upon their shoulders, he yielded himself to capture. Almagro handed him over to his captain named Rodrigo Orgoñez, and with some of his most intimate friends in whom Almagro had the most faith they carried him [Pizarro] off to the houses of the Sun, as they were very strong houses, well enclosed, and there they kept him some days until a round tower was made ready in Caxana, houses where the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro was and where Hernando Pizarro was when they took him prisoner. Then, having fortified this tower by closing up the windows and door, leaving a small hole through which a man could crawl, they put him there, walled up, as I say. This Caxana had two round towers, one on one side of the door and the other upon the other side, I mean almost at the corners of this square [courtyard?]. These towers were of well made

masonry and very strong. They were round, covered with straw very strangely placed thus: The straw eaves stood out beyond the wall more than a braza, so that the shelter of this eave favoured the horsemen around the tower when it rained. These houses and rooms belonged to Guainacapa. The Indians burned [the roofs of] these towers when they laid siege [to Cuzco] with burning arrows or stones. So thick was the thatch that it took eight days or more for it to be entirely burned, or, I should say, before the wooden framework fell. They had closed these towers [at the top] with thick beams of wood with earth above like azoteas. In one of these they held Hernando Pizarro.<sup>116</sup>

Now I shall come back to the entry of Almagro into Cuzco. In the morning after having captured it they did not know whether to call us their men or traitors. They [the Almagrists] entered our houses and took away our property and horses. Here was begun the naming of traitors in this land and the beginning of battles and pillage was made. So

Almagro took prisoner some of the friends and kinsmen of Hernando Pizarro, such as Gonzalo Pizarro, Pedro Pizarro, Alonso de Toro, Solar, Cárdenas, and Xara, and so he held them for some days, though sometimes he let them go free and at others he took them prisoner again. He kept Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro prisoners always, under heavy guard.

While matters were in the situation described, Alonso de Alvarado arrived at Cochacaxa, which is twenty leagues from Cuzco, a little more or less, and near the river Avancay.<sup>117</sup> In winter this river can not be forded, and in summer only with difficulty. Here Alonso de Alvarado learned of the entry of Almagro into Cuzco and of the imprisonment of Hernando Pizarro. And learning of it, he stopped in this place Cochacaxa, which is a high peak with a small flat place upon it, and on this flat place a lake, likewise small, is formed, which the Indians call Cocha, and for this reason they call this place Cochacaxa. From this peak and from this lake a slope of

almost a league goes down to the river of Avancay. Alvarado, upon learning of what had taken place in Cuzco, and leaving his men above in this Cochacaxa already mentioned, went down to the bridge of Avancay to capture it and build fortifications, and he did so as well at the ford as at the bridge. He and his best fighters were guarding the bridge and valley. And he despatched fifty horsemen to go and give the news of what had happened to the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, and of how he [Alvarado] commanded them to go down to the [coast] plains by way of Nasca, whence the road might be taken, in order that they might go without peril through the plains, for they would be able to go that way, the land being flat and having few inhabitants. I have already told how Picado took away the command of troops from Pedro de Lerma and gave it to Alonso de Alvarado for the reasons I have told, because this Picado, being the secretary, had so much influence with the Marquis that nothing was done unless he ordered it, and this was the cause of a suffi-

ciency of evil in this land, as I shall tell further on. Pedro de Lerma came with Alonso de Alvarado. Being fretful on account of the affront which he had received, he had many friends, important men, in the camp of Alvarado. Perceiving that he had an opportunity to avenge himself for the injury that had been done him, he plotted with his friends to write to Almagro [asking him] to come and attack them without fear, for they would give up to him the troops whom Alonso de Alvarado had, as well as Alvarado himself, as prisoners. And, although Almagro had had news of the arrival of Alonso de Alvarado, he had not dared to go and attack him, for Alonso de Alvarado had many very good troops, and he did not venture to go and fight with them. But, having received the letters which Lerma and his friends sent him, he made ready [to go], taking all the horses and arms of those of us who were in Cuzco with Hernando Pizarro, taking prisoner all those of whom he was suspicious and walling them up in the other round tower; leaving

Grabiel de Rojas as his lieutenant, he set forth with all his troops, and some who wished ill to Hernando Pizarro were in Cuzco as guards over him and the [other] prisoners. And the doors were walled up, leaving only very small windows through which food was passed. And so he [Almagro] set forth for Avancay, giving notice to Pedro de Lerma and his friends of his coming, and promising them great favours. When Pedro de Lerma and his friends learned of the coming of Almagro, they pretended to be very great partisans of the Marquis and of Alonso de Alvarado, and they tried to be stationed near the ford in order that they might distinguish themselves the more in the service of the Marquis. And, on receiving what they asked for, they gave news of it to Almagro, telling him to attack the bridge, and by night to turn and attack the ford at the quarter just before dawn, and that he would find everything flat and open. Almagro did this, and all day he was fighting at the bridge with some arquebuses and cross-bows, and in this fight, his

men say, Almagro killed three of Alvarado's men, among whom was a gentleman named, I believe, Don Francisco. When night was closing in, Almagro caused great fires to be built before the bridge, pretending to establish his Camp there. And leaving some soldiers to show themselves upon the bridge, he went with most of his troops to the ford. Crossing it without risk from the men who were there, he attacked those who were at the bridge, wounding some of them and overcoming others, and he took Alonso de Alvarado prisoner. And from here he passed on to Cochacaxa, and having come up to the troops who were there, he took them prisoner and stole all the luggage he found. And from here Almagro returned to Cuzco, taking all the troops with him, some going willingly and others in spite of themselves. And with Alvarado a prisoner under heavy ransom, he returned to Cuzco, and when he had arrived, he put Alonso de Alvarado in the same prison which held Hernando Pizarro. And this was the first battle and effrontery which there was

in Peru [and the beginning of] robberies and ill-treatment, for in this battle they affronted many, among whom were Pedro de Lerma who cudgelled one Samaniego who was in his company, and this Samaniego afterwards killed Pedro de Lerma at the battle of las Salinas.

Having done this, and having rested some days, Almagro determined to go and attack the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro in order to take him prisoner if he could. All this Almagro did, so it is said, upon the advice of Diego de Alvarado and other gentlemen whom he had with him, and who came to these parts with Don Pedro de Alvarado.

While being engaged in his preparations for going to Lima, Almagro decided that we soldiers who were in Cuzco, together with some of those whom he had brought and some of those of Alonso de Alvarado [should join forces with him], and he formed a detachment of four hundred men, and he himself and some captains of his went with them against Tambo where the Inga was, sending him messages to come in peace, for otherwise he [Almagro]

would make war against him. When Mango Inga learned of the setting forth of Almagro and these troops against him, he deserted Tambo and retreated into the Andes.<sup>118</sup> These Andes are some very thick forests with very lofty vegetation. All the year around it rains more or less in these Andes. In certain parts some few Indians are settled, but so few are they that those which up to the present have been seen do not number more than two hundred. These Indians understood the cultivation of an herb which is called coca among them, as I have said, for the Lords. And now many Spaniards have devoted themselves to making plantations of coca, for it is the thing which is worth the most and has the highest price that there is among these natives, and I believe that there is a yearly traffic in this herb to the amount of more than six hundred thousand pesos, and it has made many men rich. And may it please God that they be not poor in spirit, because, according to what is said, the natives die in this trade, especially those who enter the Andes, for it gives them a

sickness of the nose like that of Saint Anthony, and which has no cure, albeit there are some remedies for checking it, yet in the end it returns and kills them. This sickness attacks all those Indians who are not natives born and bred among these Andes, and it even touches some of those who are born there, and for this reason there are so few of them. In this land of the Andes there live many vipers and great serpents, and there have been serpents which attack men and kill them. It is a rugged land with many high peaks and ravines, and for this reason there are in the land many bad passes through which horses can not go unless the many bad places are paved with adobe at the cost of much labour. And although they use horses on the plains they can not be made use of until the whole woodland region is crossed, and it is very extensive, and in some places small plains are formed between mountain and mountain. These mountains slope toward the northern sea.

Almagro and his men having arrived at Tambo, and finding here neither the Inga nor

his warriours, he sent Rodrigo Orgoñez and Rui Diaz and others of his captains with the greater part of his soldiers after Mango Inga, and so they went giving chase to him as far as a village which is called Vitacos which they could reach with the horses, covering with adobe some bad places.<sup>119</sup> And in this chase the Spaniards took many [Indian] men and recovered the two Spaniards whom the Inga had with him, Francisco Martin whom he had captured and the other one who had fled from us. Almagro wished to hang the fugitive, but he desisted at the request [of his men]. Mango Inga hid himself in the depths of the mountains with some troops, and for that reason he could not be taken prisoner. But I shall not treat of him until later. The troops whom Almagro had sent out from Tambo having returned, he and all his men returned to Cuzco, and, after resting for some days, Almagro determined to set out for Lima against Don Francisco Pizarro, believing that he could capture him with a few men and enter Lima, because he said that his jurisdiction began

there. Almagro planned this on finding how many troops he had, for he had brought from Chile more than three hundred men, and Alonso de Alvarado had gone down [to the coast] with more than five hundred, and of those of us who were in Cuzco more than sixty were of his party and wished ill to Hernando Pizarro, and among these were the treasurer Riquelme and the factor Mercado. But it turned out quite differently from what Almagro planned, for, as he showed such ill-treatment to those of us who were in Cuzco and those whom he took prisoner in the field and those of Alonso de Alvarado, twenty by twenty and ten by ten they fled away from him and passed over to the side of the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro. Almagro having set out with more than seven hundred men, he carried Hernando Pizarro with him, a prisoner, leaving in captivity in the tower where he [Hernando Pizarro] had been Gonzalo Pizarro his brother and Alonso de Alvarado, and in the other tower he left prisoner and walled up Pedro Pizarro, already mentioned, Alonso de

Toro and Cárdenas. This Pedro Pizarro and Alonso de Toro and Cárdenas are those who have been mentioned here many times, because there was not in this kingdom another Pedro Pizarro nor another Alonso de Toro other than these who have been named so many times, nor have there been other men of these names in later times. Almagro left Grabiél de Rojas as lieutenant-governor, charging him to keep a good guard upon the prisoners. But it befell that before Almagro set out he quarrelled with a gentleman whom he brought from Chile and who was called Lorenzo de Aldana, a native of Cáceres. He quarrelled, then, with this man because Aldana asked him to give him ten thousand pesos for his preparations for going with him, just as he [Almagro] had given [such a sum] to Diego de Alvarado and Gomez de Alvarado and others. When Almagro replied to him that he had nothing to give him, Aldana said to him: Well does your Lordship see that we come [from Chile] ruined and lost men [as indeed they did], and since your Lordship

has given to others, it is just that you grant me some aid, for if you do not give me it I shall not be able to go and serve your Lordship upon this journey. Then, giving loose rein to his tongue, as he was wont to do, they say that he said to Aldana: Stay, then, for we shall make war without Maria Aldana.<sup>120</sup> So, regretting this much, Aldana remained behind, and Almagro paid for it well. Some days after Almagro had gone away, taking Hernando Pizarro with him, Lorenzo de Aldana spoke secretly to certain friends whom he had in Cuzco and to others whom he believed to feel themselves injured by the entry which Almagro had made into Cuzco, calling upon them to aid him in setting free the prisoners whom, as I have said, Almagro had left there. And after he had gained some support, he exchanged letters with Gonzalo Pizarro and Alonso de Alvarado. And having laid his plans, Aldana ordered the guards who watched these said prisoners one night to hand over the guard to friends to whom he had spoken, and while these were keeping watch they [the

prisoners] opened up two windows which these towers had and which gave on the courtyard, and, having opened them, the prisoners escaped, and when they were free their friends, who numbered as many as fifty, were guarding them, and they took some horses and captured Rojas and some arms, though only a few, because Almagro had taken all [the rest] with him. They prepared [to set forth] on this day when they were set free, and with all possible speed [they gave chase to Almagro] lest the news should reach him before they took him by means of going by some other road, for Almagro went down to Nasca which is in the plains; and Gonzalo Pizarro and Alvarado and the others who were going with him took an inland road, going to attack Guamanga, which is a road that leads toward the Andes, and from here they marched out upon Xauxa, and from Xauxa they went down to the valley of Lima where the Marquis was, and at this time Almagro was in Pachacama, four leagues from Lima. And, with the arrival of these men [Gonzalo Pizarro and his

men] the Marquis had great joy and Almagro felt sorrow. And soon he retired to Chincha, thirty leagues from Lima.

While he [Almagro] was in Chincha, some agreements were made, through the mediation of the licentiate Espinosa, acting for Almagro, and of Don Francisco de Godoy and a religious named Bobadilla, provincial of the Mercedarians, acting for the Marquis. These men agreed that Almagro and the Marquis should meet each other at Mala, a valley which is between Lima and Chincha, almost half of the thirty leagues distance from either, and to do this the Marquis set forth from Lima with seven hundred men whom he had all assembled and ready for war. Then he set up his Camp in some hollows and a valley which is called Chile, ten leagues from the city of the Kings, and from here he took twelve men in whom he trusted, and he took them with him to Mala, for it was agreed that they should meet here, as has been said, each one bringing with him twelve men. The Marquis left his brother Gonzalo Pizarro in

camp as general. When the 'Marquis had set out, Gonzalo Pizarro with the whole camp marched after him until he arrived at the river Mala, and there he took ambush in some groves which were near the river, placing among some reeds in the river-bed fifty arquebusiers, because the village where they were to meet was on the other side of the river, toward Chinchá, whence Almagro was to come, and up the stream, a little to one side of the highway. And they say that Almagro also took his whole camp and ambushed it, behind some hills just on the other side of Mala. The Marquis arrived first at this place which I have mentioned where they were to meet, and then Almagro arrived at the river, and arriving there he gave his horse a drink, and the arquebusiers of the Marquis, who, as I say, were in ambush, wished to shoot and kill him. Gonzalo Pizarro ordered them not to do any such thing, because he [the Marquis] was with them [Almagro and his men]. Then, his horse having drunk, he [Almagro] and the twelve who were with him

went to the Tambo where the Marquis was. Tambo is what these Indians call some large rooms which they have built by command of the Inga in order that he might lodge there while passing through his land or for his captains and governors whom he had stationed in the manner I have related. Almagro having arrived at this Tambo where the Marquis was awaiting him, they saw each other and spoke together, albeit not with the affection with which in other times they were wont to receive each other, for both were envenomed, the Marquis on account of the injury that had been done to his brothers and Almagro by the evil heart he bore and the evil works he had done, for, when they saw each other in Cuzco after the quarrels between Joan Pizarro and Almagro, they came to an agreement, and they poured forth their tears as it was their custom to do when they met after a long absence. And I speak truthfully when I say that all this [lack of harmony] was due to the evil counsels of those whom Don Pedro de Alvarado had brought to this land, for they

it was who began to set in flame' this kingdom of Peru, a fire which has been great and has lasted long, for all the rest who came from Nicaragua and other parts were peaceful and quiet men. Here, if he had wished, the Marquis would have been able to capture and kill Almagro very much at his leisure, because his men were nearer to this Tambo and there were more of them, and because Almagro had but fifteen or twenty arquebusiers, whereas the Marquis had eighty or more, for at that time they were not as numerous in this kingdom as they are now. And there was no lack of evil counsellors who called to Gonzalo Pizarro's mind the remembrance of how Almagro had broken the truce, and who urged him to do the same since he had such a good occasion. But being advised of these desires, the Marquis sent to order his brother not to do that, for if he broke his word which he had given to the envoys of Almagro, he [the Marquis] would no longer have him for a brother, for the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro was a man who kept his word faithfully. Then, after there

had been complaints and recriminations between them, Almagro returned to Chíncha, and the Marquis camped his men in this valley of Mala, and he told Almagro that if he did not set free his brother Hernando Pizarro whom he held prisoner, he would follow him until he took his life, and so he [the Marquis] marched as far as Guarco, which is a valley so called, and which is six leagues from Chíncha where Almagro was. From here the envoys again treated between Don Diego de Almagro and the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, in order once more to make an agreement. It was finally agreed that Almagro should release Hernando Pizarro in order that the Marquis might be placated and that other concessions should be made. Almagro agreed to it, and released Hernando Pizarro. When he was released, the Marquis agreed that Don Diego de Almagro should settle the Charcas and Arequipa and in these villages should give sustenance to the men whom he had with him, and it was quite necessary that it be given them, the best of the land, even though

at that time the mines were not discovered, neither those of Potosi nor those of Porco, which is near this village of the Charcas, which the Marquis later settled, as will be told further on, and [it was stipulated] that he [Almagro] and the men he had brought should stay in these villages until a report was made to His Majesty, and until, in his turn, His Majesty should point out their boundaries. Almagro did not wish to agree to this unless they were to give him Cuzco. But the Marquis did not agree to this, for all the fame and wealth was in Cuzco, and so it cost the lives of both of them and those of more than two thousand other Spaniards. Then, as they did not agree, Almagro continued retreating and the Marquis went on following him, and in this way they went on until Almagro went up to Guaitara which is in the highlands, and the Marquis followed him, having some encounters, although not bloody ones, between the scouts. Then, on a plain which lies before Guaitara, very cold and having much snow, they were almost able to

see the camps of one another. On account of the thick snow which there was, the Marquis believed that he would not be able to catch up with the troops of Almagro, so he turned to re-form his forces in the valley of Yca which is forty leagues from the city of the Kings and the valley of Lima, and Almagro went on to Cuzco with all speed. When we were arrived at Yca with the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, the Marquis re-formed all his troops, giving the command over them and sufficient powers to Hernando Pizarro whom he sent to follow Don Diego de Almagro and his troops and drive them beyond the limits of Cuzco. Hernando Pizarro set forth, taking with him Gonzalo Pizarro his brother, and Alonso de Alvarado and other captains, among them Castro and Diego de Urbina, and others whom I do not name in order not to be prolix. His forces counted some eight hundred infantry and horse, and among them were eighty arquebusiers. Having sent off this force, the Marquis returned to the city of the Kings at Lima, and Hernando Pizarro went up into the high-

lands by way of Nasca. This Nasca is sixty leagues from Lima. It is a valley of Yungas. These Yungas [live in] a very hot land of many deserts of sand with rivers that flow from the highlands to the northern sea and form some valleys, and here dwell these Indians whom I call Yungas. These valleys are very insalubrious for mountain folk; they have many groves of trees and many reedy swamps. In most of these valleys there are many mosquitoes which weary mankind, by day and by night. Hernando Pizarro having, as I say, gone up by way of Nasca into a province which is called Sorac, he went on from there by deserted and little-known roads so that Almagro might not learn whither he was going, and likewise so as to avoid two great rivers which are called Avancay and Apurima. These rivers flow to the northern sea. Then, proceeding by forced marches without Almagro's being able to learn where he would come out in order to descend into the valley of Cuzco, for Almagro was in Cuzco re-forming his troops, and because Hernando Pizarro

would make preparations to move in one direction and would then move in another, without previously informing either his captains or those of us who were his soldiers, because, when they made us ready to go in one direction, they led us in another, and this Hernando Pizarro did in order that they [the Almagrists] should not break down the bridge of a river which is called Aycha, where he finally came out ten leagues from Cuzco. But twelve or thirteen leagues before arriving at the bridge, he made ready three hundred horsemen, and he sent them off under the command of his brother Gonzalo Pizarro on one afternoon, without anyone understanding it or knowing where they were going, and with orders to go without stopping to take this bridge of Aycha and guard it so that it be not burned before he [Hernando Pizarro] should arrive. These Indians used bridges made of cables woven out of rushes, and these cables were two palms broad and long enough to stretch from one side of the river to the other and to have something left over. Then

they built some piles of very thick stone on one side and on the other [of the river], and these were traversed by very thick beams to which they tied these cables, joining some of them to others, and they fixed still others higher up in the manner of a balustrade on either hand. Then they laid down many canes of the thickness of a finger or less upon the cables, and they wove them very closely and evenly. And they set in place other canes woven back and forth so as to form a balustrade so that no one should fall down or even see down into the water below. They made these bridges so well and so strongly that the cavalry could cross over them very well.<sup>121</sup>

Gonzalo Pizarro having set out with the soldiers already mentioned, Hernando Pizarro remaining in the Camp with the rest of the troops, Gonzalo Pizarro and those of us who were going with him crossed the river which flows by Avancay, near which place it rises, half by swimming, and without stopping we went to the bridge of Aycha, which is at Purimac, and we found the bridge well made

and strong, and here we stopped, waiting until Hernando Pizarro should arrive with the rest of the troops, which he did in three days. When we arrived here, Almagro had news of our coming, and he put his men in readiness to await Hernando Pizarro. Almagro had more than eight hundred men, but, as I have said, he did not have more than fifteen or twenty arquebusiers. Upon the arrival of Hernando Pizarro we crossed the bridge, and returned in the direction of Cuzco, coming down into the valley two leagues from Cuzco. When Almagro learned of our arrival, which took place at night, and we stopped in that place until day came, he made ready all his troops and sallied out with them to Salinas, half a league from Cuzco, a place where the highway goes up a slope with a small flat place on one hand and a small swamp upon the other. Here Almagro stationed his men and formed his platoons, and near this swamp he placed a company of horse with a captain named Vasco de Guevara, who was a citizen of Lima and a native of Toledo, commanding

him to attack the infantry and arquebusiers of Hernando Pizarro, and thus he awaited us. Morning having come, Hernando Pizarro arranged his troops, dividing the cavalry into two parts so that if it were necessary they might attack in divisions, or, if not necessary, they might join together. He gave one part to Diego de Rojas and the marshal Alvarado; the other part he took himself with Gonzalo Pizarro, and two captains had charge of the infantry, a Castro, native of Portugal, being in command of the arquebusiers, and later he was killed by Peranzures in a sortie, and the pikemen being under the orders of Diego de Urbina. While Castro, the captain of the arquebusiers, was marching along in this formation he saw the swamp, and he placed himself and his men in it, and then his men began to scatter themselves [unwittingly] among those of Vasco de Guevara, who attacked them a little, but, seeing that they could have no avail on account of the swamp, they [Guevara and his men] withdrew and joined the platoon of Don Diego de Almagro.

Having seen this, Hernando Pizarro commanded that all the cavalry should reunite, and so he attacked those [the cavalry] of Almagro, and this battle lasted for a while, and in the end the men of Almagro fled, and Almagro went with some of them to the fortress [Sacsahuaman?]. Then the troops of Hernando Pizarro followed them, took them and bore them off to Cuzco where Hernando Pizarro put him [Almagro] in the tower where he [Almagro] had held *him* prisoner, taking out from this tower and the other one more than thirty men whom Almagro held prisoner and had walled up, because they were friends of Hernando Pizarro. Standing guard over these [Almagro's prisoners] was Noguierol de Ulloa, who was a citizen of Arequipa. On setting these men free, Hernando Pizarro placed here Almagro, and he held him prisoner, and after a trial of some months he cut off his head. And in this battle of Salinas almost two hundred men died, on one side or the other. Rodrigo Orgoñez, captain-general of Almagro, was killed. And many on both

sides came out of it wounded, and with all this, Hernando Pizarro did not consent to pilfering, as did Almagro in Chile, but instead he commanded that some horse which had been taken should be returned, as well as some piece of [silver] service and some slaves, to those who owned them, as well as all the other things which seemed to have been taken by his men while they were entering Cuzco and in the battle.<sup>122</sup>

Almagro being dead, as I say, there were in Cuzco many troops gathered together, as well those of Almagro as those of Pizarro, and as, at that time, there were no pretenders as there are now, and as the Indians were not then given to everyone, but only to the meritorious men who took part in the discovery and conquest of this land, Hernando Pizarro determined to give permission to Pedro de Candia, one of the discoverers and conquerors of this kingdom, to make an entry into the Andes, which Pedro de Candia had wished to do many days before, because he said that he had information about a certain

province, very well populated and very rich, which they say is in these Andes, on the other side of the mountains and toward the northern sea. And today there is the same rumour and it has not been possible to find out about it so as to travel in the directions which shall lead to it.

When Hernando Pizarro saw the many troops who were without occupation, he granted leave to Pedro de Candia to make the journey which he wished to make, and he named him captain. And he [Candia] assembled three hundred or more men, and with them he started to enter the Andes directly from Cuzco, because in this . . . . . is the news of [its] having a population. Wishing to enter [the Andes] and not having found any way of crossing the mountains, he went along the desert which lies between the Andes and some Canches Indians who are settled at the beginning of the Collao, and not finding any pass, he went on to these Canches who, as I say, are settled along the highway of the Collao, and as they did not find at once an-

other Peru, one Mesa, a mulatto whom Candia had as master of the camp, a valiant man whom Hernando Pizarro had had as captain of artillery in charge of some marksmen whom he had at las Salinas, plotted with Candia's men to mutiny. When news of this came to the ears of Hernando Pizarro, and as soon as he learned of it, he set forth with his friends in search of Candia and his men, and he caught up with them at a village of the Canches which is called Yanacoca, fourteen leagues from Cuzco, and he took Mesa and others prisoner, and he killed Mesa and another soldier, and he took away from Candia the command of the troops and gave it to Pero Anzures, sending Candia to Cuzco and its neighbourhood, for he was a citizen there. Peranzures took the troops whom Hernando Pizarro gave him, and journeying onward through the Collao, he entered the Andes from a village which they call Ayavirezama, and he found a road along which he passed through the mountains, and after that through some deserts where almost half the men he had with him perished of

hunger. Having crossed these deserts, he came upon a very powerful river, and, not being able to cross it, nor having the means for building boats, nor would it have been possible to cross the river with boats, he turned about, and going and coming, as I say, he left more than half his men dead of hunger.

When the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro learned of the imprisonment and death of Don Diego de Almagro, he felt deep regret that he had been killed, and he came to Cuzco, and on his arrival he learned that from the Desaguadero onward in the direction of Charcas the whole country was in revolt. This Desaguadero is formed near a village called Cipita which belongs to the province of Chucuito which His Majesty owns. This Desaguadero flows out of Lake Titicaca into that which is formed in the provinces of Carangas and Aullapas, as I have said. It flows two fathoms deep and is an arquebuse-shot in width. They have made a bridge for crossing it out of balsas made of rushes. Balsas mean nearly the same as boats, but they are flat and small.

These balsas are upon the water and are tied with cords of enea which hold them together and form a bridge like that across the river at Seville, which is built upon boats. When it was learned by the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro that all these people were still in revolt, he sent his brother, Gonzalo Pizarro, with two hundred men to pacify and conquer them. And while he was going along toward Charcas on the other side of this Desaguadero which I have mentioned, he found many warriours who were waiting for him there, believing that they were safe, having broken the bridge. When the Spaniards arrived there [at the bridge] they threw themselves into the river to the number of ten or twelve with their horses in order to swim over, but, because this Desaguadero is so deep and because so many weeds and reeds grow on its shores, the horses became tangled up in them, and they were not able to clamber out, and so they and their masters were drowned, the Indians aiding [their dying] with blows from stones. When Gonzalo Pizarro perceived the

disaster and that he could not cross over, he tried with some [Indian?] friends whom he had on this other side to make some balsas, and when they were made, certain Spaniards crossed over by night and attacked suddenly the Indians, causing them to flee, and the Spaniards had a chance to rebuild the bridge, because the Indian warriors had [parts of] it near at hand, for, when these [Indians] wish to break the bridge, they do nothing more than untwist the ropes on one side [of the river] and permit it to swing back to the other side. Things being thus, the Spaniards and their Indian friends brought it back into place and, when it was made fast, they passed over and marched on victorious until they reached a valley called Cochabamba where they [the Indians] besieged Gonzalo Pizarro and held him in great peril. And when this was learned by the Marquis, he despatched Hernando Pizarro his brother with another body of men, and until Hernando Pizarro arrived, Gonzalo Pizarro was beleaguered and in great danger. With the arrival of Her-

nando Pizarro, the Indians raised the siege, and so the Christians went onward conquering and pacifying the whole of the Collao and Charcas. At this time Hernando Pizarro found the mines of Porco and took that rich mine which he has there. From these mines and from some which are in Tarapaca, a coastal region, a league and a half from the sea, they were wont to get silver for the Ingas. And those of Potosi were worked in the time of the Spaniards, albeit the Indians had made some trials there. All this land having been quieted, Hernando Pizarro and his brother returned to Cuzco, and when they had come back the Marquis agreed that Hernando Pizarro should go to Spain and that Gonzalo Pizarro, his brother, should go against Mango Inga, who was in hiding in the Andes.

Now I shall first relate something about the mines of silver and gold which the Inga used to work in this kingdom. At the time when we Spaniards entered it, they were working the silver mine which Hernando Pizarro took in Porco, for thus is this place

where the mine is situated called, [and they were working] many other mines which were later discovered near this one, yielding rich metal which is almost half silver, but which have a great drawback, namely, that they very soon fill up with water and so can not be worked. There is another place where they likewise mined silver, as I have said, and it is called Tarapaca. It has this name of Tarapaca on account of a village which is so named and which is twelve leagues from these mines. These mines of Tarapaca are in some sandy wastes and it is twelve leagues to fresh water, and in some directions there is none within thirty or forty leagues. The silver ore which is in these mines is very rich, for most of the silver from these mines is white when smelted, and they even say that it has some admixture of gold. No fixed vein has been found. There are many springs [of silver] like veins in the ten leagues round about and wherever they dig they get silver ore, though some places are richer than others. On account of the great scarcity of water they [the

mines] are not worked, nor has' all the richness which is in them been disclosed, because news has been received of a vein which the Indians have covered up, which was two feet wide, all of white silver, and which they say belonged to the Sun. This was learned through the event which I shall now relate. Lucas Martinez, a citizen of Cuzco and later of Arequipa, one of the conquerors of this kingdom, worked these mines because he held in encomienda this village of Tarapaca. While he was working in a cave where they first got out the silver for the Inga, he found some potatoes, round like cannon-balls, which these Indians call *papas*, as I have said, lying about loose in the ground, in weight two hundred pesos and three hundred and five hundred, and it befell that he found a *papa* that weighed a quintal. This place was worked at great cost, and these *papas* were found from time to time. It happened that Pedro Pizarro, he named here before, had near this place the Indians of his encomienda, and he had news from an Indian that there was

a richer mine than that which Lucas Martinez was working, and, on going in search of it, he found some holes which the Indians worked anciently, two musket-shots from the cave of Lucas Martinez. And when he asked the Indians what they got from there, they said copper, and they lied, for, on searching in a small hole which the Indians had left on one side of it [the cave], he found, a little more than two palms below the ground, stones like adobes, and more than three thousand pesos of these bricks of white silver were taken out, which was unusual, because, when the adobe was taken out, they merely hit it on top with a pick and a lump of fine metal which it contained would come out, and so it was left a plate of silver. Believing that it was the [chief?] vein, Pedro Pizarro spent more than twenty thousand pesos in this mine, digging eighteen estados into the living rock, but he found no more silver. When Lucas Martinez learned of this silver which Pedro Pizarro found at the beginning, he believed that it was the vein, and he threatened the caciques

of his encomienda of Tarapaca, saying that he was going to slay them for not having shown him that mine which Pedro Pizarro found. The caciques, believing that Lucas Martinez would misuse them, told him that he must feel no regrets, for they would give to him the mine of the Sun, which, as I have said, was a vein of white silver which they had not dared to disclose because their wizards had told them that they would all die and their fields would all dry up if they did so. Lucas Martinez gave them courage and bade them to have no fear, for their wizards did not speak soothly. While the caciques were determined to show it, one day before doing so the sun was eclipsed, and the Indians believed that the Sun was angered because they were to disclose his mine, and they did not understand the course of the sun, and they said to Lucas Martinez that they would all die if they showed him the mine, for the Sun was angry, and for that reason he had stopped in that way. Then Lucas Martinez gave them courage, telling them that, from time to time,

the sun did that, and he consoled them somewhat, and they said that they would go with him to show the mine. While they were going along the road, it chanced that the earth trembled very vigourously, and, seeing the eclipse of the sun and the trembling of the earth, they [the Indians] said that even though he might kill them, they would not disclose the mine, and so they persisted, and they were never willing to show where it was. This was in the time when Vaca de Castro was ruling this land. Here in this Tarapaca there is a great wealth in mines all covered up which, on account of the lack of water and of wood, is not discovered. Now men are going in search of them. These Indians used to work some gold mines at Chuquiabo where the city of La Paz now is, and they got gold in many other places which I will not mention here in order to avoid prolixity.

To return now to the departure of Hernando Pizarro for Spain, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, and his brother with him, and many of the troops who accompanied him, went out

to a place a league above Cuzco called Guacavara on account of an encounter which was had there with the Indian warriors the first time we entered Cuzco, as I have said, because, in the language of these natives, Guacavara means Battle. Hernando Pizarro, on taking leave of his brother the Marquis at this place, said to him: Look, your Lordship, now that I am going to Spain, and see that the safety of all of us is first in God and then in your Lordship's life. I say this because the men of Chile are going about very mutinous, and if I were not going away, there would be nothing to fear. And Hernando Pizarro spoke the truth, for they trembled with fear of him. Let your Lordship make friends of them, giving sustenance to those who wish it, and do not permit those who wish nothing to assemble ten together within fifty leagues of wherever your Lordship may be, for if you let them assemble, they are bound to kill you. If they kill your Lordship, I shall conduct our business ill, and no memory of your Lordship will remain. Hernando Pizarro

said these words aloud, and we all heard them, and, embracing the Marquis, he set off and went away. Hernando Pizarro said these words to the Marquis because he was a wise man and because he had sought to make friends of the chief men from Chile and had offered to give them repartimientos, and they had neither accepted his advances nor had they wished to do so, and so none of them stayed within fifty leagues of where Hernando Pizarro was, and because the Marquis did not take this advice of his brother, those of Chile finally killed him. When Hernando Pizarro had set out, the Marquis commanded that three hundred of the most important men and captains and warriors should make ready so that we might go with Gonzalo Pizarro, his brother, into the Andes in search of Mango Inga.

Having made ready we set forth, and we penetrated as far into the Andes as the horses could go, and at that point we quit them with some troops to guard them, and we went onward afoot to the place where we were in-

formed that Mango Inga had fortified himself. While we were travelling one day by a very narrow road along which we could go only in single file, and which was near the place where Mango Inga had his stronghold, Gonzalo Pizarro was in the lead, and Pedro Pizarro was next to him, and Pedro del Barco came next to him, and then came all the rest following after. Now it befell that while we were thus marching along near the fort we passed through great and dense forests which there are there and the like of which we had not before seen in this land, and while we were travelling, as I say, Gonzalo Pizarro chanced to get a small stone into the space between his shoe and his foot. While taking off the shoe in order to take the stone out, he ordered the troops to halt, and, as they all came up behind one another, he ordered Pedro del Barco to take the lead and to go on slowly with the men, while he [Gonzalo Pizarro] took the stone out of his shoe and put his shoe on again. While Pedro del Barco was going onward with all the soldiers after him, they

found two bridges newly made in order to cross two small rivers which traversed the road, and, not being aware that they were made on purpose to lead the Spaniards into an ambuscade which the Indians had prepared for them, [they crossed them]. In this Pedro del Barco was seriously at fault, and he displayed very little sagacity in not understanding that enemies make bridges so that we might cross only under some deceitful plan. So, without stopping, Pedro del Barco and all the rest of the troops with him crossed over and soon they came upon a gentle slope without trees which came down from a very high mountain. This slope without trees was about one hundred paces wide, and at its end the forest again became very thick, and through it led a very narrow road which did not permit more than single file, and near this forest and gully ran these two streams of water which I have mentioned and over which the Indians had made the bridges. While marching, as I say, Pedro del Barco and his men [walked into the trap], not seeing any Indians

because they were all in ambush and hiding, and they entered upon this gentle slope which I mention in order to come to the narrow path through the forest, and when some twenty Spaniards had entered it, they [the Indians who were in hiding] hurled down this slope from above many large boulders. These boulders are large stones which they throw from above and which come rolling with much fury. When these boulders were thrown, as I say, they crushed three Spaniards and hurled their fragments into the river. When the Spaniards who had gone forward went onward into the forest, they found many Indian archers who began to shoot arrows at them and to wound them, and had they not found a narrow path by which they threw themselves into the river, all would have been killed, for they could not overcome these Indians on account of their being hidden among the trees. And thus were many Spaniards wounded, and five were killed. When Gonzalo Pizarro came up, he found that this evil thing had taken place, for it

was all a trap, and if the Indians had not been in so much haste to throw down the boulders they would have let more of the Spaniards enter the narrow road and the forest, and few or none of us would have escaped, because further on it was impossible to pass, as it appeared later, because upon the road by which we had to go, without being able to do so by another route, [was] a rock three estados high which they climbed by means of a ladder made of a tall thick beam, and above this rock they had made a wall of stones and they had many thick single stones which they could use to throw at those who wished to mount the rock. And three Indians who were on top of the rock could defend this pass and no force could take it from them. And then if they [the Spaniards] had turned back, they [the Indians] would have hurled down upon them these boulders which I mention, and few indeed would have escaped had they [the Indians] had enough forbearance to allow the Spaniards to enter [the forest] and then, in this way, throw down the boulders. When

Gonzalo Pizarro had seen the misfortune which had befallen us, he determined to retire, because there were many wounded, and many had become demoralized, and likewise because he understood that all the Indians who were in waiting there were safe. And taking note of this mountain and this bad passage, he waited here until midnight, and, sending the wounded on ahead, Gonzalo Pizarro himself remaining in the rear, he ordered Pedro Pizarro to go just behind him. And thus we retired, and we returned to where we had left the camp and the horses, and from there he sent a messenger to Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro giving him an account of what had taken place, and [requesting] that he send more troops. When the Marquis learned of the rout he did send more soldiers, and when they had arrived Gonzalo Pizarro turned back [to go] against this pass where Mango Inga was, like a very secure man. At the entrance of this narrow place which I have mentioned he [Mango] had made a stone wall with some loop-holes through which they

shot at us with four or five arquebuses which he had and which he had taken from the Spaniards, and as they did not know how to prime [*atacar*] the arquebuses, they could do us no harm, for the ball was left close to the mouth of the arquebuse and so fell to the ground on coming out. One morning after our arrival here one hundred of our best men were made ready to mount through a thickly wooded slope to a high peak where all the heights could be dominated so that these said passes might be cleared and so that we might outflank the Indians. So it was that Gonzalo Pizarro and half of us troops were facing the fort where Mango Inga was, while the rest secretly went up through the forests without the Indians becoming aware of it. And we kept making attacks as if we wished to take the fort, and at the hour of vespers and later the [other] Spaniards mounted through the wooded hills to a flat place which is formed on the other side of the mountain where Mango Inga had his stronghold. The Indians, on perceiving how the Spaniards were descending

from that place, came to give 'Mango Inga news of it at the fort, and when he learned of it, three Indians took him by the arms and, bearing him between them, carried him over the river which I mention and which runs close to this fort, and they bore him down the river a space and hid him in the forests, and the rest of the Indians who were there disappeared, and they fled in many directions, taking refuge in the woods. When we saw that they were fleeing, we dashed onwards to the fort, but no Indian could be captured, and so it was not learned that Mango Inga was there and that it was not he who had fled down the river. And before everything else we hurried up the road, believing that the Spaniards who had gone that way might have fallen in with him, and that for this reason he was not captured. For, had we known that he was in the fort, he would not have escaped us, because we Spaniards and [our Indian] friends would have found him if all of us had not gone up the mountain believing that he was there. And so Mango Inga had

a chance to betake himself away and hide himself in the forests with some Andes Indians of this land, who hid him.<sup>123</sup> And although we returned to seek for him and wandered about for two months from one place to another in pursuit of him, we were never able to find him, and so we returned to Cuzco, taking some of his people, and among them a woman of Mango Inga's who loved him greatly, and she was held in the belief that through her peace might come. Later on the Marquis ordered that this woman be killed at Yucay, causing her to be beaten with rods and pierced by arrows on account of a joke which Mango Inga played upon him and which I shall here relate. And I understand that, for this cruelty [and for one which he wrought upon] another sister of the Inga whom he ordered killed at Lima when the Indians laid siege to the city, who was called Azarpay, I believe that our Lord punished him in the end which was his, and [punished] Almagro for the brothers of the Inga whom he slew, as I have said.

While the Marquis was at Arequipa for the purpose of founding the settlement of Spaniards which he established there, news reached him that Mango Inga had sent messengers to Cuzco to tell the Marquis to go to Yucay, and to say that he himself would repair to him there in peace. When the Marquis received this news he set forth without founding the village, and, having arrived at Cuzco, he took twelve chosen men, for the Inga had besought him to go thither with but three or four, the more easily to betray and kill him, if so he might. But, being wary and suspicious, the Marquis chose, as I say, twelve men, and among them his brother Gonzalo Pizarro, and taking with him the wife of Mango Inga and the other woman, he went to Yucay, and from there he sent messengers to the Inga, and the Inga sent messengers to the Marquis, saying that he would come forth in peace. When this news reached the Marquis, he sent to him [Mango Inga] a foreign pony together with a negro and some presents and gifts. While

these were upon their way, Mango Inga sent certain warriors to attack the Marquis, and these captured the pony and the negro and killed them, as well as some of the Indians who were going with the presents. But some [Indian] friends made their escape and gave information about it to the Marquis, [telling] how the pony and the slave and the rest of the Indians had died, and in his anger about this the Marquis ordered that this wife of Mango Inga be killed. Tying her to a stake with some rushes, they beat her and shot at her with arrows until she died. The Spaniards who were present there said that this Indian woman never spoke a word nor uttered a complaint, and so she died under the blows and arrow shots which they gave her. It is a thing worthy of admiration that a woman should neither complain nor speak nor make any moaning even in the pain of her wounds in the moment of death. Then, too, in Lima, the Marquis ordered that another Indian woman, sister and wife of Atabalipa, whose name I have given, should be slain. This

Azarpay, when they killed Atabalipa, came to Xauxa with Tubalipa his brother, and after the death of this Tubalipa, the paymaster of His Majesty, Navarro, asked the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro for this Indian woman, believing that he would get through her a great treasure, and, indeed, she might well have given it to him, for she was one of the greatest ladies of this kingdom, and very highly venerated and esteemed by the natives. When this lady learned how the Marquis wished to give her to the paymaster Navarro, she disappeared one night and returned to Caxamalca. Then it befell that, when the land began to rise in revolt, Verdugo was in Caxamalca with some Spaniards, and, knowing about this lady, he took her prisoner and brought her to Lima and gave her to the Marquis. And while he held her in his dwelling the Indians came to lay siege to Lima. And a sister of hers, named Doña Inés, by whom he had Doña Francisca, being envious of this lady who was more important than she, told the Marquis it was by com-

mand of this lady [Azarpay] that the Indians had come to lay siege [to Lima] and that, unless he killed her, the Indians would not go away. So, without further consideration, he ordered that she be garroted and killed, whereas he might just as well have embarked her upon a ship and sent her from the land.<sup>124</sup>

I have wished to tell about these two ladies for they were killed without consideration, and without regard to the fact that they were women and were blameless. And before I forget it, I shall relate a method which these Lords of this kingdom had for keeping the warriours contented and so that they be taken away from their lands as little as might be and [might experience few] long absences. These Lords, then, had in their camps and armies many unmarried women, the daughters of orejones, of caciques and of the chief men of the land, for, among these Indians, no account of it is taken whether or no their daughters be virgins, nor were they ever restrained until they were married. And, as I say, many of these women went with their fathers and

brothers to war, and they had the custom of going out into the fields on every rainless night, as well these women as the men, and they formed many choruses, each one being distant a little from the others. And the men took the women by the hands and the women the men, and they made, as I say, a closed circle, and while one of them sang in a high voice the others replied while dancing around and around. These dances were heard from afar off, and all the free women and unmarried Indian men hurried to them, the orejones going to one special place, and in each province it was the same. Then, while they were singing and dancing thus, it was the custom among them for the Indian man to take the Indian woman whom he held by the hand out of the circle and, going off a little way, to do his will with her, after which they came back to the dance, and so did they all do, each one in his turn. With this vice and with that of drinking, the warriors were kept contented, and they did not hanker for their lands. And for these warriors, as I say above, the Ingas

had great deposits of food in all the provinces, as well as stores of clothes and of all that was necessary for the soldiery, as I have said.

The Marquis determined to found two towns, the town of la Plata in the Charcas and that of Arequipa, cutting up the large repartimientos which he had given in order to create more citizens. In these settlements and repartimientos Picardo, the secretary of the Marquis, did much harm to many men, for the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, not knowing either how to read or how to write, trusted in him, and only did those things which he advised, and thus this man did much harm in these kingdoms, for he destroyed him who was not ever acting according to his [Picardo's own] will and serving him. And this man Picado was the cause of the great hatred which those of Chile took to the Marquis and for which they killed him, for this man [Picado] desired that all should reverence him, and those of Chile took little heed of him, and for this reason this man persecuted them much, and so it was that those of Chile

came to do what they did do. 'This fellow Picado was brought out by Don Pedro de Alvarado, and this said Picado went to command in this kingdom of Peru with the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro and the conquerors. And as the conquerors relied upon their services given to His Majesty in discovering and conquering this kingdom [to win them just rewards], they paid no heed to Picado nor respected him as he desired, and for this reason all the greater part of the conquerors were left with the smallest part [of the fruits of their labours] and with the worst luck of any of all those who today have encomiendas in this kingdom. And those who respected this man and wrought his desires, [profited much for] he had such weight with the Marquis that he gave them of the best, taking it away from them who had conquered and won it. And our Lord was served and he gave permission that, while this man was on his throne of power, those of Chile should subject him to tortures and cut off his head in the plaza of the city of the Kings, and, even

as he had endeavoured to take away the good fame of those who had conquered and won this kingdom with so much toil and so many deaths as those which occurred in it, so there remained no memory of him.

When the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro perceived that Mango Inga had made a mock of him in Yucay, as has been told, he went to Cuzco, and [presently] he made the settlement and founded the town of la Plata and the city of Arequipa, taking the best away from the conquerors and giving it to the friends of Picado and to men recently come from Spain who were present in the battle of las Salinas. On his [Picado's?] behalf, I say, they took away the best, for, as I have said, when the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro and we Spaniards entered Cuzco for the first time in order to found this city of Cuzco of Spaniards, and because they wished to remain and settle there, because of which they did remain, to the great peril of their lives, he gave and allotted to them who stayed there all the Indians of whom he had information, and later

he took them away, and he settled these men in these two towns, the town of Plata and the city of Arequipa, leaving, as I say, the worst and the least to those to whom previously he had given all things, and I speak [in accordance with] the opinion of his secretary Aman. When the foundation of these two villages was completed the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro returned to the city of the Kings where he was for some days until those of Chile assembled in this city under the plea that they were awaiting the arrival of Vaca de Castro who was coming as a judge to hold a *residencia* upon the Marquis. So all those of Chile [gathered] together in this city and awaited the arrival of Vaca de Castro so that if *he* did not kill Don Francisco Pizarro and did not give to them the land, they might kill *him*, together with the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro. But it so befell that when Vaca de Castro embarked at Panama in order to come to this land, he had so bad a voyage upon the sea that he had perforce to disembark at Buena Ventura, although I should call it

Mala [Ventura], because he who is coming to Peru and has to take port there against his will, as happened to Vaca de Castro, experiences a sufficiency of bad luck. Having, then, disembarked at this port, Vaca de Castro went up to Quito, very far from the city of the Kings, by seven hundred leagues. Then, those of Chile, seeing the long delay of Vaca de Castro and knowing that there was news of his embarkation at and departure from Panama, and, seeing that it was not known where he had taken port, they believed and suspected that he was dead, and so those of Chile determined to kill the Marquis and his friends and raise a revolt in the kingdom. They made so bold as to do this, for they saw that the Marquis was alone and without guards, for his brother Gonzalo Pizarro had gone to discover the great river which, flowing through the Andes, comes out into the northern sea, and he [Gonzalo Pizarro] entered [the forests] by way of Quito, and Orellana the one-eyed and Father Carbajal came out upon the northern ocean in a brigan-

tine which Gonzalo Pizarro had made on this river, sending Orellana and Father Carbajal with orders to go on ahead, a little distance at a time, scouting and awaiting him, and while Gonzalo Pizarro was going along the shore through the forests with his troops, this Orellana and those who were with him mutinied, and, without waiting for him [Gonzalo Pizarro], went off and came out upon the northern sea. Then, after going on, lost for some months, and suffering in these forests much hunger and many hardships, and not finding populated land, Gonzalo Pizarro and his troops returned to Quito. To return now to those of Chile who had no news of Vaca de Castro, and who determined to attack the Marquis on a Sunday when he was at mass and to kill him. The day before a priest named Henao went by night and warned Picado the secretary, saying to him: Those of Chile have planned to kill the Marquis and you and his friends when he goes out tomorrow to Sunday mass; this one of the plotters has told me in confession in order that I might

come to warn you. When Picado learned this, he went at once and told it to the Marquis, and he replied: This cleric wants a bishopric; now I tell you, Picado, that his head will answer for mine. The Marquis said this because more than six months before they had warned him from Cuzco and from all directions that those of Chile were going to assemble in Lima in order to slay him, and this was so well known that a citizen of Cuzco named Setiel, while he was with his Indians, was told by their cacique: I give you to understand that those of Chile are going to kill the Apoo macho. For thus were they wont to call him in this kingdom. Apoo with them means Lord and they call him who is old macho. When this [Spaniard] asked his cacique: How did you learn it? the cacique replied: My guaca told me about it. Guaca is what these people call the demon who speaks to them. His master said to him: Go, for you are lying. The Indian said to him: Come with me to my guaca and you will see what it says. Then this citizen went

with his cacique to the place where the guaca was, and speaking with it he [the cacique] said: You told me that they were going to kill the Apoo macho; say it before my master. This citizen said that he had heard a voice which replied to the Indian: It is true; I told you that they were going to slay him. Then this [Spanish] man was astonished, and he wrote to the Marquis [recounting] what he had heard. So to all those who spoke and wrote to him in this vein the Marquis replied: His head shall answer for mine. And fifty friends and servants, of whom plenty offered, were of more use. But having heard what Picado said to him, he sent to summon Doctor Juan Blasquez, his lieutenant-governor, and Francisco de Chaves, citizens of Lima, taking consultation with them as to what he should do. Juan Blasquez said to him: Let your Lordship have no fear, for while I have this staff in my hand none shall dare [to attack you]. And such health [i. e., faithfulness?] was his that he did as he said, and later the Indians of la Puna slew him and the bishop

while they were fleeing from those of Chile. This bishop was Fray Vicente de Valverde, the first bishop of Cuzco, and the first bishop in this kingdom. Then they agreed in this conference [between] the Marquis and Chaves and Velasquez that, on the following day, which was Sunday, the Marquis should not go out to mass, but that he should feign an indisposition, and that they should say mass for him in his house, and in the afternoon he was to request all the cavalry to mount and go to the dwelling of Don Diego de Almagro, who was called thus, like his father, and to take him prisoner, together with Juan de Rada and Joan Balsa, two servants who had belonged to his father and who were with Don Diego de Almagro the lad when all the meetings and plots took place. Having agreed upon this course, Doctor Juan Velazquez and Chaves went to their dwellings. When morning was come, those of Chile were in the dwelling of Don Diego, or I should say some were, those who were to go out afoot and enter the church, for during the night they had secretly

entered the dwelling of Don Diego de Almagro, which was hard by the cathedral where the Marquis was wont to go to mass, and all those of Chile were in readiness, and there were more than two hundred of them, for, on hearing of the mutiny, they all joined it. Now that the hour of mass was come, and seeing that the Marquis did not come out, they [the Almagrists] sent a Biscayan priest [who later went much with Centeno] to go and learn why it was that the Marquis did not fare forth to mass. Then it befell that the Marquis sent to ask for a priest [to come and] say mass for him. This Biscayan priest offered to say it. And they say that those of Chile sent after this cleric Juan Ortiz de Zárate, who is now a citizen of Charcas, and one Valdés, a scoundrel, [and] they sent them to see what the Marquis was doing that he came not forth to mass. And later those of Chile said that Joan Ortiz and Valdés had gone to tell them [the Almagrists] that they [Pizarro and his men] were warned, and so they used to sing afterwards *Ortizico fué la*

*espia y Valdés deste mal que hecho es* — Little Ortiz and Valdés were the spies in this evil deed.

Those who were hidden in the house of Don Diego de Almagro being warned, they said that Juan de Rada and Don Diego and all the rest of them had agreed to go forth pretending that nothing was afoot and so break up the gathering and to deny it if they were questioned. While they were in agreement about this, they say, a Sant Millan from the bocudos of Segovia, not a valiant man, but rather a poor thing, was taken possession of by the devil, and he opened the door which was shut and went out into the street, armed and grasping a buckler, for all were waiting for the Marquis to go in to mass. This Sant Millan having opened the door, he threw himself into the street and, shouting aloud, he said: Come out all of ye and let us go to slay the Marquis, for if not I shall tell how we were ready to do it. Those inside and Juan de Rada seeing that they were discovered by the going out of Sant Millan, all

came out after him, shouting: Death to traitors. Fifteen or sixteen armed men went to the house of the Marquis where the Marquis was talking with Doctor Juan Velasquez and Francisco de Chaves and with his brother Francisco Martin, and in the hall there were more than forty men. Hearing the shouts, a page of the Marquis named Tordoya went to see what was forward, and [very soon] thereupon they killed him. But seeing the troops of Chile who were coming and the many other men who were approaching, he returned to the Marquis, crying out: My Lord, those of Chile are coming to slay your Lordship. Hearing this, the Marquis said to Francisco de Chaves, a gentleman of Trujillo who was married with Maria Descobar: Señor Chaves, shut that door and guard me while I arm myself. Chaves did just the contrary, they say with evil intent, because he knew that the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro had left him the governorship in a will which he had made while he was sick during the absence of Gonzalo Pizarro. And

with this malicious purpose, believing that he would be left the governorship, he opened the door of the hall, which was shut, and went out, thinking that those of Chile would never kill him, for he had never been opposed to them. But when he came forth into a small passageway just beyond the door in order to go down some steps, those of Chile were going up the stairway, and there they met him, and they say that Chaves said: [Kill] not friends. But Juan de Rada, who was in the lead, gave a sign with his eye to those behind him to kill him [Chaves], and so they slew him half way up the steps, giving him many blows. Then those who were in the hall, and Doctor Juan Velasquez, threw themselves through a door and from that door into a corridor which gave upon the river, and they hurled themselves through some windows which there were in the corridor, and they began to flee, some in one direction, some in another, leaving the Marquis alone with his brother Francisco Martin and with the page Tordoya. When those of Chile came in they attacked Fran-

cisco Martin, who was in the door of the chamber with Tordoya. When the Marquis heard them entering, he came out with some breastplates half buckled on to aid his brother Francisco Martin, and they fought so sturdily with those of Chile that, although the latter came armed, while they were not, they killed two of them, and, in the end, as they were left alone and without arms, and as those of Chile were many, the latter gave them so many wounds that they killed the Marquis and his brother and his page. In all this time the Marquis received no succour, and when the citizens began to gather together, the plaza was already filled with Chilean cavalry and infantry. They say that the Marquis died asking for confession and making the † with his hand and with [his crucifix] pressed to his mouth.<sup>125</sup>

The Marquis having been slain, those of Chile assembled more than three hundred men, and others joined them, who numbered more than five hundred. They took Picado prisoner, and, sending troops to Arequipa,

upon the road between Nasca and Yca in a desert which lies there, they took prisoner the factor Guillen Xuarez de Carbajal and Pedro Pizarro, and in Lima they captured Diego de Agüero and other friends of the Marquis. They took all the arms and horses which there were in the town and in the environs, and they caused arquebuses to be made by a master of the art who was in Lima, for a chaplain of Don Diego had discovered by deceitfully asking him to make an arquebuse for hunting [that the man knew how to do it] for it was his purpose, as they said later, to find out if he knew how to do it so that he could not deny that he did later on. For, as they had plotted to kill the Marquis and to raise the land in rebellion, they went about to discover who would make arquebuses for them, and so they sent out this cleric in order that, with guile, he might have a hunting arquebuse made and so find out who among the blacksmiths who were in Lima knew how to do it. And so, with this man's [the smith's] agency they made arquebuses, and they took him about

with them wherever they went in the battles and encounters which there have been in this land. I shall pass over them briefly, although I was in all of them in the service of His Majesty and under his Royal standard, except in that of Quito, in which I did not take part for the reason that Gonzalo Pizarro had taken away from me my Indians and had exiled me to Charcas because I did not wish to follow him. And of these [battles] other chroniclers treat, as I have learned, availing themselves of persons who have taken part in them, doing so for two reasons: to inform themselves of how events took place and to seek their interest [in return for which] they [the chroniclers] would mention them [the informants] in the chronicle, receiving two or three hundred ducats if they put them very prominently into what they wrote. They say this about Cieza in [respect to] a chronicle which he wished to write by means of what he heard, and, I believe, very little through what he saw, because, in truth, I do not know him as one of the first men who entered into this

kingdom. And, accordingly, all that I write in this document I saw and understood, except, as I say, the first discovery, up to the time when the Marquis went to ask for the governorship.<sup>126</sup>

Returning now to those of Chile who were in Lima supplying themselves with arms and arquebuses, I shall relate what the citizens and justices did in the [other] cities. It so happened that, some days before, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro had given leave to Perálvarez, a gentleman from Cáceres, to assemble as many as one hundred men and go into the [country of] the Chunchos, which is in the Andes and forests which I have mentioned. This Perálvarez being in the Collao with about thirty men whom he had collected, received news of the death of the Marquis, and he returned to Cuzco with the thirty men whom he had and with some others who joined him when the death of the Marquis was known. When he arrived in Cuzco, the citizens and soldiers who were there received him with much contentment and chose him

for their captain, and then they wrote to the city of Arequipa and to the town of la Plata [and] to Charcas, informing them how they had chosen as captain Perálvarez Holguin, and [inviting them] all to come to Cuzco and form a fighting force to resist those of Chile, [urging them] to come with all speed before those of Chile should learn of it. When the citizens of Arequipa received this news, they all assembled together and came to Cuzco, and there they took Garcilaso de la Vega as their captain, and those of the town of la Plata did likewise, bringing as their captain Pero Anzures. When all were thus brought together they chose as their leader Pedro Alvarez Holguin, and all in a body set forth for Xauxa in order to join forces with Alonso de Alvarado, who was in Chachapoyas, and who, they learned, had sixty men in readiness for war, and from there they went in search of Vaca de Castro.<sup>127</sup>

I shall leave off, for the nonce, my account of those who were journeying as I say, and returning to those of Chile who were in Lima,

they determined to kill those whom they held prisoners who were: Don Gomez de Luna, Juan Ortiz de Guzman, one Chaves (a nephew of Francisco Chaves), Luis de Ribera, Pedro Pizarro, Manjarres, Espinosa, Navarro, and the secretary Picado. While they were in the determination to kill these men whom they held prisoners, and while they were very indignant because the bishop fray Vicente de Valverde and Doctor Velasquez had fled from them and, as I say, while fleeing in a balsa were killed by the Indians of the island of la Puna, as well as one Valdivieso whom I have named here, while they were in this determination to kill these men, the licentiate Niño who came from Spain arrived, and when those of Chile took counsel of him as to what they should do as regarded the death they wished to inflict upon these prisoners, they said that he had advised them not to do it, for it would appear clear that they were tyrannical and were acting against His Majesty, and that [if they desisted it would seem that] they had

not killed the Marquis out of passion felt by them on account of the death of Almagro. On this account, it was said, did they desist from killing those already named, and they tried to make friends of them, but they had no faith in five of these, who were Luis de Ribera, and Pedro Pizarro, and Monjarres, and Antonio Navarro, and Espinosa, whom they placed aboard a ship [in charge] of a skipper who was called Pero Gomez, placing arquebusiers over them as guards, and ordering the skipper to take them to the port of Arequipa.<sup>128</sup> These men saved themselves afterwards by giving to the skipper, Pero Gomez, five hundred ducats which Pedro Pizarro had in an order against the inspector Saucedo. The skipper one night set them free from their imprisonment and gave them arms with which they mutinied, together with the ship, and they went in search of Vaca de Castro, landing at Trujillo. Having won free of the bad opinion [in which the public] held those of Chile for wishing to kill those named, their fury broke loose in

their slaying of the secretary Picado and one Orihuela de Salamanca.<sup>129</sup>

While [those of Chile] were making ready to go to Xauxa in search of Pero Alvarez, there were certain differences of opinion among them as to the leadership, and Juan de Rada took prisoner one captain Chaves of the Chileans and another [captain] Bachiller Enriquez, and a soldier who was one of those who had gone to kill the Marquis, and taking them prisoner one night [Rada caused his men] to take them to the sea where they placed them aboard a ship, and Bachiller Enriquez and Chaves were garroted and thrown into the ocean, and they exiled the soldier, and afterwards his name was kept quiet lest he be drawn and quartered. He who was the chief man in the camp of those of Chile was Juan de Rada,<sup>130</sup> and second place [was held by] Joan Balsa, who had been servants of Don Diego de Almagro, notwithstanding the fact that there were many high-born gentlemen among them, such as a brother of Diego de Alvarado whom

later, out of fear, they themselves killed in Cuzco, saying that he wished to make [himself] the leader and kill the son of Don Diego de Almagro whom they had as a figurehead, although he neither had charge of anything nor was fit to have. Those whom I mention being dead, Joan de Rada and the men of Chile set forth from Lima, some five hundred strong, and before they arrived at Xauxa some men fled from them, and among them were the factor Guillen Xuarez and his brother, the licentiate Carbajal and Pablo de Meneses. When they had arrived two days' journey from Xauxa, they received news that Pero Alvarez Holguin two days previously had gone hurriedly from Xauxa in order to avoid those of Chile [and that he and his men] were gone to join forces with Alonso de Alvarado, and that all together they had set up their Camp in a province which is called Guaraz, and from there they sent messages to Vaca de Castro who, they learned, was in Piura.<sup>131</sup>

Returning now to those of Chile, Joan de

Rada was ill from a blow which he had received in the leg when he went in to kill the Marquis and [was] on a stairway where he fell. When he learned what had befallen the people of Cuzco and that they [his men] could not stir them into revolt, this Joan de Rada felt such pain on understanding his doom that, they say, it made his leg swell up and gave him paroxysms, and when he arrived at Xauxa he died, leaving one Sotelo as chief of those [of Chile] with Joan Balsa [as lieutenant]. When they were arrived at Xauxa, they sent the brother of Diego de Almagro with troops to scout the coast and enter Arequipa, there to steal all that might be found, and then to go to Cuzco where they were to re-fit, and to make some artillery; and so they did, making many firearms of copper and three falconets, and they collected more than two hundred arquebuses. When Alvarado arrived at Cuzco from Arequipa they slew him, deceitfully saying that he wished to kill Don Diego de Almagro the lad. He had certain soldiers in his dwelling,

and they killed him even while they embraced him.

Being now very well prepared and supplied with all that they needed, they set forth in search of Vaca de Castro. Then Vaca de Castro learned of the troops who were in Guaraz, and, with those whom he himself brought, who had come from Puerto Viejo, Quito, Piura and other parts, he had a strong enough force to attack those of Chile, and we who had disembarked from the ship [at Trujillo] were [also] journeying from Piura, where we had fallen in with him, and, when we were arrived at Guaraz after short marches, Vaca de Castro rested there for some days, and, having made his troops ready, he marched toward Guamanga.

On arriving at Guamanga we had news that Don Diego the lad was coming in search of us and was now very near. The licentiate Vaca de Castro determined to go out to receive him, and so he ordered that we all go out with him, and we went to set up the Camp on some plains hard by the high bare

hills of Chupas, for so is [the place] called.<sup>132</sup> While we were here we sent scouts every day [to explore], and we had news that he [Don Diego de Almagro the lad] was coming to give us battle, and, as it was learned later, on seeing the camp of Vaca de Castro from atop these hills, they wished to avoid us, and so, skirmishing with our men, they went retiring. Understanding their intention, Vaca de Castro marched with the whole camp against them, climbing the hills, and one hour before sundown a battle was joined which lasted until dark night descended, because certain squads of cavalry became confused, some with others, and stayed in the fight an hour and a half without knowing victory, and then they rested, being thus mixed up, to gain breath for new fighting; and so we kept on fighting, as I say, until nightfall, and our infantry sang the song of victory, and by this the cavalry of Almagro's side was disheartened, for they were divided into two parts and were fighting with two other squads made up of cavalry from our

side. And, in truth, we were in danger of being lost because Vaca de Castro took, from two companies of horse who were attacking one of the squads of Chilean cavalry, forty picked men in order that they might remain in his guard, for he believed that those of Chile would not divide up their cavalry, and he had set these two squads aside so that they might go to any point where there was need of them. But when those of Chile saw these two squads set apart, they divided their cavalry into two portions, sending the strongest against these especially good companies, believing that there was Vaca de Castro. So we, in these two companies, were forced to run into the greatest danger, and so, as I say, we had to rest three or four times, and as those of the main body of our cavalry and infantry were singing the victory, our two companies, with their captains, passed through the centre of our enemies, leaving them whole, for they were very well armed and were the flower of those of Chile, albeit we had killed almost

all their horses, because, as we could not wound them themselves, they being so well armed, we attacked the horses, and so we killed and wounded almost all of them. Then it befell that while we were singing the victory, Vaca de Castro, who was on a slope with the forty men whom, as I say, he had picked out, looking at the fighting, heard the [song of] victory of his troops and came on the run, and, as it was dark, he believed that he was passing among his own soldiers, but he entered [instead] a Chilean squad through which the two companies which I have mentioned had passed without being able to destroy them. When Vaca de Castro was recognized by those of Chile as the man who thus came among them, they began to attack [him and] his men with great fury, and so they wounded and killed some of Vaca de Castro's men and hurled them back upon themselves against their will. And so Vaca de Castro [finally] took refuge among his own men, who were now all gathered together into a squadron, and very desirous

of returning to attack these Chiléans who had maltreated them [but] who had now fled, perceiving that they were now alone and that the rest of their side were now routed and in flight. The captain of these horsemen of Chile was one Hernando de Saavedra, a valiant lad.

Vaca de Castro, having won this victory, set forth on the morning of the next day for Guamanga, sending some captains ahead of him in order that they might gather together those of Chile who had gone to the churches and monasteries of Guamanga to hide themselves. Don Diego de Almagro the lad took the Cuzco road and went thither. When this was learned by Vaca de Castro he sent a captain with fifty cavalrymen in pursuit of him and they overtook and captured him in Cuzco. Another captain, Diego Mendez, went with four men to where Mango Inga was, who received them kindly and kept them in his company. These men came later to kill Mango Inga by a trick, giving him stabs with a knife which they carried hidden, for he

did not let them carry arms. These Spaniards did this because they found an opportunity for it, Mango Inga having sent [most of] the warriors whom he had with a captain to a certain place, and it chanced that this captain returned with the warriors the day on which they had killed Mango Inga, and he killed the Spaniards who had slain him [Mango], and if this captain had not come upon this day, Diego Mendez and the rest would have escaped.

When Vaca de Castro had arrived at Guamanga with the victory which he had gained upon the plains of Chupas, he there did justice upon the most guilty to the number of thirty men, and he exiled many others; others fled and could not be found. In this battle of Chupas more than two hundred men died on the two sides, and, among them, the general Pero Alvarez Holguin. Those of Chile numbered somewhat more than five hundred men. They had two hundred and fifty arquebusiers and three falconets which shot egg-shaped balls. Those of the cavalry were all armed with

trappings of copper and silver and with other arms which they had, and all were extremely well armed, forming a bellicose and courageous body of soldiers. Vaca de Castro had about seven hundred men, and among them something under three hundred arquebusiers. His troops were badly armed because their arms had been stolen by those of Chile, and there had been too little time to enable them to provide themselves with others. This punishment having been carried out, Vaca de Castro set forth from Cuzco, and having arrived there, he did justice upon Don Diego de Almagro the lad and others who were there. He was there for some time studying the affairs of government, and he had news that Gonzalo Pizarro had set forth from Quito and was coming to Cuzco with about twenty men. Then, in preparation for his coming, he [Castro] gathered his friends around him, and when Gonzalo Pizarro arrived at Cuzco with four or five men he received him well. And while they were thus for a space of some days, Gonzalo Pizarro asked for leave to go

to see some Indians whom he had in Charcas, and, when it was given to him, Gonzalo Pizarro set forth with three or four servants, and Vaca de Castro set forth for Lima, and on the road he had news of the coming of the Viceroy, Blasco Nuñez Vela.

I shall now enumerate the provinces which there are in this land. Puerto Viejo is a province. The island of la Puna is another. Tumbez and Solana and Pariña are another. Tangarala, la Chira and Pohechos are another. Piura, Sarran Motupe, Cinto and other small valleys which there are as far as Chimo where the city of Trujillo is now established form another. As far as the neighbourhood of Lima there are some valleys which count as one province. Lima, Pachama [*sic*], Chincha, Yca, Lanasca, as far as Hacari, are another. From Hacari to Tambo is another. From Tambo to Tapica is another. This is along the coast of the southern ocean. Some of these provinces have a length of one hundred leagues and more, the greater part of it being desert. There are others sixty, fifty and

forty [leagues long] in the same nature as I describe, having many sandy wastes and deserts between one valley and the next. I shall now tell of the mountain provinces. Quito is a large province, and the Cañares, Tomebambas and Cajas form another province. Caxamalca, Guamalchuco and the Guambos form another province. Guailas is another province. Taramá and Atabillos and Bombon are another province. Xauxas Guancas is another province. Soras and Llucanas are another province. Chachapoyas is another province. Guanca Chupachos is another province. Guamanga is another province. From Xauxa to Cuzco there is the province of Andaguailas, another called Parcos de Orejones, another called Vilcas and some valleys which there are as far as Cuzco, such as Avancay, Aporima, Tambo, Xaquixaguana and Cuzco. These are almost all separate. Leaving Cuzco there is a province called Mohina. From Cuzco to Mohina there is a distance of four leagues, a valley entirely populated on both sides by orejones. Con-

desuyo is another province. It is very large and has many people, and has very mountainous land, and in this province there are different costumes. Notwithstanding that it was all called Condesuyo, this province is more than sixty leagues long. It is in the mountains toward the southern ocean. Leaving this Mohina already mentioned, there are other villages of orejones until one enters the province of the Canches. This province of the Canches measures twenty leagues. Beyond it is another province called Collao, which measures sixty leagues and more. On one side of this province are the Carangas, and there is another called Quillacas which borders upon this. Next to this comes another province which is called Charcas, another which is called Amparaes, and another which is called Chichas. From here one takes to the desert in order [to go to] Chile and Tucuman. Toward the northern ocean is the province of the Andes. This is a very long mountain-chain populated, in some places, very scantily. The Inga named and divided up all these

provinces just named into four parts: One, and the most important and having the most people and the best climate, was called Chinchá and Suyó, for they gave to this province the name which the village of Chinchá bore, because, as Atabalipa said when the Marquis asked him how it was that the Lord of Chinchá was carried in a litter whereas all the other Lords of the realm appeared before him bearing a burden and barefooted, this Lord of Chinchá was anciently the greatest Lord of the plains, and he used to send out from his village alone one hundred thousand balsas [to ride upon] the sea, and because he [Chinchá] was his [Atabalipa's] great friend, and on account of this greatness of Chinchá, they gave the name of Chinchá and Suyó to the lands from Cuzco to Quito, which is [a distance of] almost four hundred leagues. They gave a name to another part which they called Condesuyo, which is a province that contains others within itself [and lies] toward the southern ocean. Condesuyo bore this name of Conde because the Indians of this

province were called Condes. The third part they called Collasuyo because the Indians of this Collao call themselves Collas. This province contains others already named as far as the sea of the South. The distance from Mohina to Chichas where the desert is entered [to go to] Chile is more than one hundred and fifty leagues. The fourth province, which they called Andesuyo, is all of forests which stretch from Puerto Viejo to the river of la Plata, and one province, which is called Tucuman, has a length of five hundred leagues. They gave the name of Andesuyo to this mountain-chain toward the northern sea because the Indians who live in these mountains are called Andes, and in this manner they took these names which they fixed upon Chicha [*sic*] and Suyo, upon Condesuyo, Collasuyo and Andesuyo. Each of these provinces had languages almost the same, although they differed slightly.<sup>133</sup>

Returning now to the coming of Blasco Nuñez Vela to this kingdom as Viceroy, he put so much confusion into all affairs [on

account of] the provisions which he brought against those who were living in this kingdom, because he came publishing and executing them [the provisions], that he was the cause of stirring into revolt this whole kingdom. And most of those in this kingdom set their eyes upon Gonzalo Pizarro in order to make him their chief and to postpone what Blasco Nuñez brought, and so they sent him letters from all the cities and towns calling him. While Gonzalo Pizarro was in a village of his called Chaquilla, they of the city of la Plata sent [messengers] to settle down there and to treat with him to go and be procurator general of these realms in order to beg [a postponement] of what Blasco Nuñez brought and other things which were to be introduced among them. When Gonzalo Pizarro understood the will of the people of this kingdom, he sent Diego Centeno and general Pedro de Hinojosa to Cuzco to learn if it were correct as to what they had written [from there] of their wishes, and in order to bring to Cuzco some falconets which Vaca de Castro had left

in Guamanga. And within a few days after these men had been sent off, he set forth for Cuzco, and there they named him as captain and procurator. While this was going on, Blasco Nuñez Vela entered the city of the Kings,<sup>134</sup> and, when he learned that the kingdom was in revolt and that Gonzalo Pizarro had entered Cuzco, he took Vaca de Castro prisoner, fixing upon him a blame which was not his, declaring that he had been the cause of the uprising of Gonzalo Pizarro, and this certainly was not the truth, for he who was to blame for everything was Blasco Nuñez and his too scant silence, and his way of coming into the country publishing broadcast all that he was going to do against the citizens and more besides. When the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez knew that Gonzalo Pizarro was gathering troops together, he sent some captains whom he appointed to go and collect troops and bring them to him, such as Gerónimo de Villegas, and this man did it for Gonzalo Pizarro and went to him. He [Nuñez] sent to Arequipa the treasurer Manuel Despinar

to bring the citizens, and some of them, like Pedro Pizarro, Gomez de Leon, Alonso Rodriguez, Picado,<sup>135</sup> Luis de Leon, Flores, went, but the rest went to Gonzalo Pizarro. Then, when we had arrived at Lima, we found that the oidores had taken the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela prisoner because he had killed the factor Guillen Xuarez de Carbajal for the reason that a body of soldiers had gone forth from his house to Gonzalo Pizarro.<sup>136</sup> When Gonzalo Pizarro learned of the imprisonment of the Viceroy, which he learned at Vilcas while coming toward the city of the Kings, and when he saw the many soldiers who were arriving in his camp, he came to the city of the Kings, where he was raised up as governor, and took prisoner all the citizens who had joined forces with Blasco Nuñez Vela, and he hung three of them before his master of the camp, Carbajal, arrived, and they were Pero del Barco, Martin de Florencia, and other citizens of Guamanga. He held all the rest prisoners. Then it befell that Vaca de Castro fled in a ship where he was held a

prisoner, and in his anger over this, Gonzalo Pizarro ordered that all the prisoners be slain, among whom were the licentiate Carbajal, Vasco de Guevara, Alonso de Cáceres, Pedro Pizarro, Melchor Verdugo, Flores, Alonso Rodriguez, Picado, and others, I know not how many for I do not remember them. Then he ordered Carbajal, his master of the camp, to kill them. Carbajal went with one Verdugo and certain arquebusiers who were set as guard, and he ordered that priests be called to confess us, and the first man whom he ordered confessed was the licentiate Carbajal. And while he was occupied in this, a page of Gonzalo Pizarro's came to tell him not to kill us, for they told us later that, when he had told Carbajal to go and kill us, he searched his heart while on his bed, and it had seemed to him that he was committing a great cruelty in killing so many men. And when Carbajal arrived, they say that he [Pizarro] said to him: It appears to me a great cruelty to kill so many; how does it seem to you? And [they say] that Carbajal

said to him: It is as your Lordship says. It will be better to make friends of some of them, and to confiscate the Indians of the rest and exile them [the rest]. This seemed good [advice] to Gonzalo Pizarro, and he replied: Do, then, Carbajal, what seems to you to be best. In the morning the soldiers of Gonzalo Pizarro, when they did not see us all dead upon the plaza, stroked their chins, for they knew that Gonzalo Pizarro had ordered that they kill us not. Then Carbajal exiled Vasco de Guevara to Guamanga, and he exiled Pedro Pizarro, Luis de Leon, Alonso Rodriguez and Picado to the town of la Plata, and others to Chachapoyas, and the rest he took with him, and from some he took away their Indians, and then he set forth after Blasco Nuñez Vela who had been released before Gonzalo Pizarro entered Lima, first providing with his own hand corregidores for all the villages. He left Lorenzo de Aldana as corregidor of Lima, and of Cuzco Alonso de Toro. To Charcas he sent Francisco de Almendras and with him Diego Centeno to bear him aid,

and soon Almendras arrived at Charcas bringing with him as prisoners Pedro Pizarro, Luis de Leon and Picado and Esquivel, exiles, as I have said. Having arrived at the town of la Plata, Almendras made Diego Centeno alcalde. On behalf of Gonzalo Pizarro he cut off the head of Don Gomez de Luna; as a servitor of His Majesty he exiled Lope de Mendoza and four other citizens who were Retamoso, Vivanco, Herdon de Aldana and Luis Perdome. Gonzalo Pizarro went in pursuit of the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela as far as Quito and beyond it, and, as he could not catch up with him, he returned to Quito where he was until the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela returned with troops whom he had gathered in the new kingdom, and, believing that most of the men whom Gonzalo Pizarro had would pass over to his side when they saw his camp, he came to Quito, where he gave battle to Gonzalo Pizarro, and Gonzalo Pizarro vanquished him and killed him. And, leaving Pedro de Puelles as general in Quito, he returned to the city of the Kings, having sent

general Hinojosa to Panama with troops in order that he might be there [in case of need], having first sent one Machicao. He also sent one Palomino to Nicaragua.

To return now to Almendras, who was in the town of la Plata. It seemed best to Centeno to turn over a new leaf and to serve His Majesty, and, treating with us who were exiled and, by letter, with Lope de Mendoza, and having agreed that we should take Almendras prisoner and that we should raise the standard in favour of His Majesty, in order to be better able to do it, he besought Almendras to lift the ban of exile resting upon Mendoza and the rest. When leave was obtained and these men had come together, Centeno went one morning with some of us to the dwelling of Almendras before he had arisen, and he entered saying to him: We have news from Gonzalo Pizarro. Almendras said to him: Are they good news, brother? For thus they addressed one another, for they were great friends, because, before Centeno had Indians, Almendras had him in his house and had done

him many favours, for Almendras was a conqueror. Then Centeno came up to the bed where Almendras was, pretending to hold a letter, and he embraced him and said to him: You are a prisoner. Almendras said: For whom? Centeno replied: For the King.<sup>137</sup> Then said Almendras: Ah! My brother, where is our friendship? Then the rest who were with Centeno came up and took him prisoner and brought him to the dwelling of Centeno, and there he [Centeno] cut off his head, as well as that of another man of the party of Gonzalo Pizarro. Then the flag was raised in favour of His Majesty, and, with about one hundred men who joined us, we came to Chucuito where we stopped, hoping that more soldiers would be gathered together for us. When Toro, corregidor of Cuzco, learned this news, he assembled three hundred men and came against us. Learning of his coming, Centeno began to flee in retreat, and Toro pursued us until he scattered us, some in one direction and others in other [directions]. Centeno, with about forty men who could follow him, entered

the deserts and province of Chich'as, and Toro returned to Cuzco. Centeno turned to come out and, having assembled some troops, came to establish himself at Paria. When Gonzalo Pizarro learned of the uprising of Centeno, he sent off Carbajal from the road to Quito, along which he was travelling, and when Carbajal was arrived at los Reyes, he there assembled some troops and came to Cuzco. And when he learned that Centeno was in Paria, he assembled four hundred men and went against him, causing him to flee. Centeno turned back to Arequipa, and Carbajal followed after him until he had taken away all his troops, and in this pursuit and capture he [Carbajal] hung more than twenty persons. Centeno and one Luis de Ribera already mentioned hid themselves in some hills, and the rest of us went in pairs wherever chance threw us, seeking where we might be hidden and so escape with our lives, although they took and hung some of us, among whom were Alonso Perez Castillejo, a citizen of Charcas, and Luis Leon, a citizen of Are-

quipa, whom they caught at Guamanga and killed, and in the city of Arequipa they killed two men. One Alonso de Avila, who was alcalde for Gonzalo Pizarro, killed them. While things were thus, Carbajal went to Charcas and fell in with certain troops who had set forth from the river of la Plata, who had gone with Felipe Gutierrez and with Francisco de Mendoza, a gentleman of Bustos de Estremadura. Then they killed this Mendoza so as to get out of this journey from the river of la Plata, for Mendoza, who was their captain, did not let them get out of it. Then it befell that Lope de Mendoza, he who was going with Centeno and who was master of the camp, had fled with four or five men toward Chichas, and he fell in with these soldiers who came from the river of la Plata, and he called upon them to aid him and to go against Carbajal, and they agreed to it. And all together, taking Lope de Mendoza as their leader, came in search of Carbajal, who was now near the town of la Plata. But news of this force came to Carbajal to the effect

that it contained about two hundred men. Carbajal repaired to the place where he took the command, and, assembling his troops and making them ready, [he saw] that they were somewhat more numerous than those of Lope de Mendoza, [and so] he went against him, who had taken refuge in the valley of Pocama because it was a strong place, and there they had their encounter, and Carbajal was almost lost, for if Mendoza's men had attacked him with courage, they would have routed him. But taking better courage, Carbajal conquered and dispersed them, and he killed Lope de Mendoza and hung many others, and so he vanquished them. And, on coming to the town of la Plata, he left as captain Alonso de Mendoza, and Carbajal returned in search of Gonzalo Pizarro, who was in Lima in a sufficiency of fear, for he had news of the coming of president Gasca and how he had taken over the fleet. This news was spread throughout all this land, and because of it we [who were] the servitors of His Majesty took courage and began to assemble more and to

sally forth in greater numbers. Then Arequipa arose in favour of His Majesty, taking prisoner Lucas Martinez, who was the corregidor of Gonzalo Pizarro. This was the first town to raise the standard of His Majesty on learning of the coming of president Gasca. When this was learned of by Centeno and Luis de Ribera, they came out from where they were, and, without entering Arequipa, they went to join some friends at Hatuncana, a village of Indians which is thirty leagues from Cuzco, and from there they exchanged letters with some friends in Cuzco who called upon him [Centeno] to go [to Cuzco] so that all together might join him in order to serve His Majesty. So Centeno assembled about thirty of his friends and, with them, went to Cuzco, and one night he entered it and most [of Centeno's men] surrendered up, for thus it had been agreed between them and the corregidor, who was Hinojosa, a citizen of Cuzco, who, for the honour he could gain, wished to betray Centeno. When this was learned of in Arequipa and its neighbourhood, those of us who

were in flight together came to Arequipa, and, all in a body, we set forth for Chucuito to wait for Centeno, who came with two hundred men whom he collected there, and all together we went to fortify ourselves at the Desaguadero. And while we were there, Alonso de Mendoza, whom, as I said, Carbajal had left in the town of la Plata, raised the standard of His Majesty, and came to join forces with us. When Gonzalo Pizarro learned this, he set forth from Lima, the flower of his troops having [already] fled from him, and he came in pursuit of us and gave us battle at Guarina, where he beat us on account of our lack of a captain, for Centeno was ill, and he did not take part in the battle, and by the good strategy of Carbajal we were vanquished. Our cavalry having overcome that of Gonzalo Pizarro, and Carbajal having, with his infantry, vanquished ours, he saw that our cavalry had his in a serious plight, and he gathered one hundred arquebusiers and ordered them to enter into our company of cavalry, which was all in confusion, and to look [for a signal from]

Gonzalo Pizarro so that the rest might shoot at once. And so it was that, with the entry of these arquebusiers among us, they wounded and killed many, and in spite of our quality they routed us. According to what was learned later on five hundred men, of the one side and the other, died [in this battle], and of Gonzalo Pizarro's men they say that not one hundred whole men were left. We of Centeno's force were more than seven hundred, and those of Pizarro were as many as five hundred. Having won this victory, Gonzalo Pizarro returned to Cuzco, sending Carbajal, the master of the camp, to Arequipa to sack it and to slay those who might be able to rise in rebellion against him, and to carry off the wives of citizens who were his enemies. And so it was done.

At this time the president Gasca was already in this land, at Xauxa, and, when he had the news of the defeat of Centeno, he collected troops from all sides, and those of us who came from Guarina with our lives came to join forces with him, and so, with about eight

hundred men, we went to Cuzco in search of Gonzalo Pizarro, passing through many hardships, as it was the winter season. And we were like to be lost at the place where we crossed the bridge which we made over the river that flows by Purima, because, if Gonzalo Pizarro had sent Carbajal with some men [against us], as they say he wished to be sent, and just as he [Pizarro] did send two hundred under Acosta to attack us after we had crossed, he would have beaten us and put us in peril flight. But some of us having crossed the bridge, we fell in with two men who were fleeing from Juan de Acosta to the camp of His Majesty, and they gave us news of his [Acosta's] coming, and, had Acosta travelled without stopping, he would have taken as many as one hundred of our men who had been able to cross [the river], and perhaps [he would have taken] a few more, and he would have killed us, for he brought two hundred and fifty men. And, as so few of us crossed over it seemed to him that we were warned, and he returned, and they said that Carbajal had

said to Gonzalo Pizarro: Lord, our Joan de Acosta has betrayed us; these men are coming forewarned. It seems to me that [it would be best for] your Lordship to go back to the Collao and leave me [here with] one hundred men, whom I will choose, so that I may go and face this chaplain. For thus he called the president. They say that Gonzalo Pizarro did not trust him enough to send him against the bridge. He [Pizarro] went out with all his troops to Xaquixaguana, and there he waited for us on a plain near a high hill down which we were coming. And certain it is that our Lord blinded his understanding, for, if he had waited for us at the foot of the slope, he would have done great harm among us. [But] they [Pizarro's forces] withdrew to a plain adjoining a marsh, believing that our army would attack them there, and that they would avail themselves of their advantageous position, and also of some pieces of artillery they had, in order to vanquish us. When we had come down the slope to the plain, the president ordered that his squadrons form and that we

all hold our ground until they should come to attack us. Carbajal then saw that we had understood his strategy, and he and all his troops lost faith, and some of them began to pass over into His Majesty's camp, and others to flee. Seeing this, we attacked them and captured Gonzalo Pizarro and Carbajal, his master of the camp, as well as all their captains, and so were they killed, and the land was reduced to the service of His Majesty. Gonzalo Pizarro had some good opportunities to yield himself to the service of His Majesty, but with his small intelligence he did not do so, although Carbajal advised him to do it. It was said that the licentiate Cepeda prevented it, as he was so guilty.<sup>138</sup>

The war of Gonzalo Pizarro being over, president Gasca divided up the land, or I should say, that part of it which he held. He gave of the best to those who had been tyrants and who had arisen with Gonzalo Pizarro and followed him. Henceforth there has been cause in this kingdom for the great number of undeserving pretenders, for, when

they saw him give the best there was to men to whom it would have been sufficient to give pardon for their crimes, they found occasion to seek and claim what was enough for them, and it surpassed all sauciness that they should be in this kingdom and not be chased from it. I shall relate now some things about Carbajal, Gonzalo Pizarro's master of the camp. To this Carbajal, master of the camp, they gave Indians in this land [although he was] without merit. He was very talkative, he spoke very discreetly and gave pleasure to those who heard him. He was a sagacious man, cruel and well-versed in war. So it befell that while this Carbajal was on the road in order to go to Spain with some moneys which he had gained, he set forth from Cuzco to the city of the Kings in order to embark, and when he arrived there he found it to be ordered by Blasco Nuñez Vela, who was coming as Viceroy, that no one should be allowed to leave the country until he should arrive. Then, this Carbajal understood the uprising that would take place in this kingdom with the arrival

of Blasco Nuñez Vela, and [he knew] that Gonzalo Pizarro was in rebellion, and he understood what was destined to take place in the land. He tried with much diligence to leave the land, and as he was not able to do so from the city of the Kings, he received news that there was a ship at Arequipa belonging to one Baltasar Rodriguez, and he determined to go in search of it in order to see if he could not leave this land. When he came to the city of Arequipa he went to dwell in the house of Pedro Pizarro, whom he asked to speak to the master [of the vessel], Baltasar Rodriguez, and, on his behalf, to offer him three thousand pesos to take him to Panama without touching at any land. Carbajal did this after having spoken to the master of the ship already mentioned and after having offered him two thousand five hundred pesos. [Then] he asked Pedro Pizarro to speak to him and offer three thousand. So Pedro Pizarro spoke to him [Rodriguez] and offered him three thousand pesos. Baltasar Rodriguez did not agree to it, nor did he wish to, for he had secretly

given his word to Gonzalo Pizarro. Pedro Pizarro told Carbajal that there was no way for him to leave the land and that the master [of the ship] had told him that, even though he were to give ten thousand pesos, still he would not take him, and it is true that the master gave this reply, for he was angered with Pedro Pizarro and said to him: You who ought to aid on what concerns Gonzalo Pizarro are going against him. Then, while they were eating, and Carbajal having finished, as well as the licentiate Leon and Pedro Pizarro, Carbajal turned to ask of Pedro Pizarro: Sir, tell me, what did the master say to you? Pedro Pizarro replied to him: Sir, I have already told you that he does not wish to do it. Carbajal said: Why did he not wish to, sir? And, saying these words, he took a cup of wine which stood before him and he drank it up, and, sighing as he finished it, he said: Sir, how was it that the master did not wish to take me? For I swear [that if you make him take me] I shall make of Gonzalo a good Gonzalo, and such that those

who are born shall tremble and those yet to be born shall hold him in awe. Señor Pedro Pizarro, funds, funds, for I wish to go to Cuzco because the Viceroy is asking for me. Gonzalo Pizarro sent to look for me. He wished me to go to where he is. And it was so, for Gonzalo Pizarro had despatched from Cuzco Pedro Alonso de Hinojosa, who was later a general of de la Gasca's, with fifty cavalrymen. [And he ordered him] to come to Arequipa to seize Carbajal, for he had news that he was there, and to take away all the arms and horses which might be found in Arequipa in case the citizens did not wish to go with him. Carbajal set forth, and, on coming out of his dwelling, he said to Pedro Pizarro, his host: Wait, sir, for I tell you that they will come for you and for all the citizens. This Carbajal was so wise that they say that he had a familiar [spirit].

Having set out from Arequipa, Carbajal had not gone four leagues when he fell in with Hinojosa and the rest who were coming in search of him. This hospitality which Pedro

Pizarro showed to Carbajal through the [will of] God left him [Pizarro] alive, for Carbajal twice had it in his power to kill him, and on the second occasion he said to him: Sir, two [lives] we have not, for such is life, and if again I have you in my hands only God can grant you life. This Pedro Pizarro named in this writing, in order to serve His Majesty, did not avail himself of the many offers which, at the beginning, Gonzalo Pizarro made him, when he began to revolt, for he [Gonzalo Pizarro] offered to make him his captain and to make him preëminent in his camp, all of which he [Pedro Pizarro] put aside and refused in order to serve his King and Lord, and so Gonzalo Pizarro held him in order to kill him in the city of the Kings, and at the request of Carbajal, his master of the camp, he did not kill him. He [Gonzalo Pizarro] exiled him [Pedro Pizarro] to Charcas, [and] took away his Indians. He [Pedro] lost more than thirty thousand pesos and finally risked his honour and his life many times in the service of his King and Lord, denying his name and his blood.

This Carbajal killed many men, among them a priest, a friar and a married woman, wife of captain Gerónimo de Villegas, here named. He killed this woman because she spoke ill of his camp. He hung the friar, after winning the battle of Guarina, from a stone which overhung a sepulchre of the natives, for in the Collao the natives use very high broad square burial places. There are some two pikes high. Having hung the friar from one of these, he called Gonzalo Pizarro, and they say that he said: Come, your Lordship, with me [and let me] show you a friar whom I have here who is guarding a sepulchre. When Gonzalo Pizarro went with him and saw the friar hanging they say that he said: The devil take you, Carbajal! How is it that you have done this? They say that Carbajal said to him: This friar was a very good postman who carried letters from the chaplain to Centeno Verde, and it is well that he now rest a little. They say that he killed the priest for this same offense. He died like a heathen, so they say, for I did not wish to see the thing, and so said

I did not wish to see it. But the last time he spoke to me [was when they were] taking him to be killed, and the priest who was going with him bade him commend himself to God and say the Pater Noster and the Ave Maria, and they say that he said Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and then said no other word.

I shall now treat of the native women of this kingdom. They were very submissive to their husbands, so much so that the mountain women were loaded and carried burdens like the men, carrying tributes to the places where the Lords ordered it to be sent. If it happened that, while travelling along with a burden, they gave birth to a child, they went aside a little from the road in order to lie in, and afterwards they went to where there was water, and they washed the babe themselves, and then they took it and threw it up on top of the pack they were carrying and went on travelling. I saw this several times. Married Indian women who went to war with their husbands, themselves bore the food for them, the cooking vessels and even, in some

cases, chicha, which was a certain drink like wine which they make from maize. From this maize they made bread, chicha, vinegar and honey, and it serves as oats for the horses. These Indian women arrived at a place as soon as their husbands, and knew how to prepare their food at once. The food of the poor Indians was this maize already mentioned, and herbs, potatoes and other vegetables which they gathered, together with some small fishes from the mountain rivers. Meat was raised, but few ate it save they were the Lords to whom they were ordered to give it, and the daughters of the Sovereigns of this land and their kinsmen, who were many, for almost all the orejones had kinship with the Sovereign. These daughters of these Sovereigns of this land, whom they called Coyas, which means beloved Ladies, were much courted. They were carried on the shoulders [of men], some in litters, others in hammocks. Hammocks are mantles fastened upon very thick sticks an arm or more in thickness, and very skillfully arranged, and, there stretched out, the Ladies

travelled, with coverings over them. These [women] were very [well] served and much feared, as well as delicate. They were well provided with all that they wished and needed. Common and lowly women kept chastity in favour of their husbands after marriage, but before that, as I have said, they did not hold it to be a dishonour [to be bad], for their parents took no account of whether they were bad or good, as I have said. Among the Ladies there were some tall ones, not among the daughters of the Kings, but among [those of] the orejones, their kinsmen. These Lords had a house where they killed the cattle of the land every day, and from there it was distributed to the chief Ladies and orejones. This cattle of the country multiplied very little, albeit there were many of them in this land, for the reason that all were [the property] of the Sovereign, and no one killed them if he did not wish it. This cattle served as beasts of burden and as flesh when there was need of it. These Ladies whom I mention were very clean and dainty, and they wore their black hair

long upon their shoulders, for they tried to have it very long. They considered themselves beautiful, and almost all the daughters of these Lords and orejones were so. The Indian women of the Guancas and Chachapoyas and Cañares were the common women, most of them being beautiful. The rest of the womanhood of this kingdom were thick, neither beautiful nor ugly, but of medium good-looks. The people of this kingdom of Peru were white, swarthy in colour, and among them the Lords and Ladies were whiter than Spaniards. I saw in this land an Indian woman and a child who would not stand out among white blonds. These people [of the upper class] say that they were the children of the idols.<sup>139</sup>

Hear what I heard an orejon say, a Lord of this land. [He said] that five years, a little more or less, before we Spaniards entered this land, an idol at Purima which these Indians had twelve leagues from Cuzco and to whom they spoke, had ordered that all the Lords gather together, for he wished to speak to them. And, when they were assembled, he

said: You must know that bearded men are coming who are destined to overcome you. I have wished to tell you this so that you may eat, drink and spend all that you have so they may not find aught, nor you have anything to give them. As I say, an old orejon who had heard it told me this.

Within somewhat more than two years, Don Sebastián de Castilla arose in rebellion in the town of la Plata, province of Charcas. He killed general Pedro de Hinojosa and his lieutenant Castro. In this uprising N. de Guzman and two gentlemen named Telloz took part. This uprising lasted ten days [only] because their very friends killed Don Sebastián and the other guilty men, of whom [the "very friends"] was one Godinez, who had been made master of the camp. This Godinez, with other friends, slew, as I say, Don Sebastián. The oidores of the city of the Kings sent marshal Alonso de Alvarado and the fiscal Joan Fernandez to gather information and to punish the guilty. While they were doing so they found guilt to rest upon Francisco

Hernandez Giron. Francisco Hernandez knew of it [the rebellion], and he agreed to revolt, as he did, although previously he had wished to revolt in Cuzco. Juan de Saavedra, who at the time was corregidor, took him prisoner, together with those citizens who aided him, and sent him to the city of the Kings. The oidores overlooked the matter and sent him to his house in Cuzco, and finally he rose in rebellion at the time when the corregidor was Gil Ramirez Dávalo. One night while he was at the wedding of one Loaisa, a citizen of Cuzco, Gil Ramirez was advised by an alguacil of his that arquebusiers were moving about and assembling at the house of Francisco Hernandez, and he ordered the alguacil who had told him of it to go and see what the matter was. Coming in by a door of the house where the wedding was, and where all the citizens and the corregidor were supping together, Francisco Hernandez entered with certain arquebusiers, and when he came to where they were supping he attacked them, killing Palomino and another man. Gil

Ramirez hid in a bedchamber, and there he gave himself up, Francisco Hernandez having given his word, which he kept, not to kill him, and he sent him to the city of the Kings. Many soldiers joined with Francisco Hernandez, more than six hundred of them, and if marshal Alonso de Alvarado had not been in Charcas punishing Don Sebastián, more than one thousand five hundred would have joined him. Francisco Hernandez sent troops to Arequipa and Guamanga. It happened that the corregidor in Arequipa was one licentiate Carbajal, who had done what it was his duty to do. On learning of this rebellion, it appeared to the oidores that this licentiate was not sufficient for the needs of war, and they took away [his office] and sent authority to Gerónimo de Villegas. He did what was customary and what had been done under the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela. One morning he ordered all the soldiers and warriors who were in the town to assemble at his house, and then he sent to summon the citizens, together with some arquebusiers, and he made an agree-

ment with those whom he had in his house, telling them that Tomás Vazquez was coming with two hundred men, as he did, and that it would be well, since they could not resist him, to give Francisco Hernandez the position of procurator so that those who were coming would have no motive to rob and sack the town, and so that they would return, knowing that this position had been given to him. Oppressed with the fear of losing their lives, the citizens did what he told them and advised them to do. This was one day at noon, and when night fell Pedro Pizarro and Diego de Peralta, Joan de Hinojosa, Miguel Cornejo, with some friends of theirs, set forth in flight and went to the port of Arequipa, and they took a ship which was there and sent it to the oidores, and they [Pedro Pizarro and his followers] went by land to serve His Majesty, leaving their wives and children in the hands of the tyrants who arrived within four days at Arequipa. These men [Pizarro, etc.] having arrived at the city of the Kings, [they found that] the oidores were in great need of money

for raising troops, and Pedro Pizarro, he named many times here, lent to His Majesty, and to the oidores in his name, sixteen thousand pesos for the raising of troops, because they were much needed. When Tomás Vazquez arrived at Arequipa, he stole all he could and all he found, and he went down to the coast and went up through a valley which is called Hacari, which is eighty leagues from Arequipa in the direction of the city of the Kings, and by that route he went up into the mountains to join forces with Francisco Hernandez at Guamanga, for they had agreed to go against the city of the Kings, as they did. When all these [troops] were assembled, Francisco Hernandez went to Xauxa, and from Xauxa he went down to Pachacama. When this was learned by the oidores, they took their camp to a place a league outside the city, to a chacara of the Dominican monks; chacara means some lands and a hamlet which the friars had. From here they led us forward near a large irrigation ditch. When the oidores learned of the arrival of Francisco Hernandez

at Pachacama, four leagues from the city of the Kings, they made ready fifty cavalrymen, in order that we might go with the master of the camp, Pablo de Meneses, who held that office at the time, to ascertain where the enemy was. We had an encounter with them near the valley of Pachacama. They captured one of our soldiers. Diego de Silva passed over to our side, who had come with Francisco Hernandez, and that night there came to the camp of His Majesty more than fifty men of those whom Francisco Hernandez brought, and for this reason Francisco Hernandez did not dare to give battle, and he retired slowly down the coast, many troops leaving him and coming over to the camp of His Majesty every day. Seeing this, the oidores made ready sixty men, and they ordered us to go with Pablo de Meneses in pursuit of Francisco Hernandez in order that we might collect and protect those who fled from him. Thus following him, we came so close to him that one party was travelling only a day's march from the other, and in a valley called Ica,

with thick woods, which is forty leagues from the city of the Kings, we caught up with them. That day they had entered the valley, and Pablo de Meneses wished to attack them there that night, because he now had more than eight hundred men, including those who had fled from Francisco Hernandez, and if Pablo de Meneses had done what he was determined to do, he would have taken prisoner Francisco Hernandez and routed [his men], as we learned afterwards. For, as they entered this valley lacking for food and very weary through not having stopped until then, the troops had been scattered through the valley in search of supplies, for they had no news of our coming, and they were quite unprepared, although they had stationed guards and sentinels. But we took these without disclosing ourselves, for it is a hilly valley, [and it is needful to have] guides who know it. But when we arrived at the river of this valley, which is at the beginning of the entrance to it, Pablo de Meneses became over-cautious and did not dare to attack the enemy. While in this situation, he

wished to send in search of some maize for the horses, which were very weary. A soldier, [who was one of] those who had come over from Francisco Hernandez's side, offered to go, saying that he knew a village nearby whence maize could be brought without our being seen by the enemy. Pablo de Meneses, believing him, sent him with three others of our men to bring some maize. When they had gone, this man who had come to us from Francisco Hernandez and who was going to show where the food was, fled from our three men who were with him and went to give warning to Francisco Hernandez and to tell him of our arrival. When our men returned, they gave Pablo de Meneses an account of the flight of that man, and then we withdrew and turned back to some hollows and to a village called Villacuri, five or six leagues short of the valley already mentioned where Francisco Hernandez was. Pablo de Meneses left three horsemen behind him [with orders to] stay here until, with day, they went to a hill near the river to watch out to see if Francisco Hernandez was coming

forth or what he was doing. Those who remained here were Lope Martin, Casas and Cifontes. He ordered them to remain until after mid-day and then to withdraw and come to Villacuri, where we were to wait for them. These men stayed in this place until mid-day, and they saw no one, and they agreed to enter the valley in order to give their horses food and to see if Francisco Hernandez had gone further on. These three having entered one part of the valley, it being now afternoon, Francisco Hernandez, with all his men, came out of the valley in search of us, believing that we were nearby in some sandy wastes which lie near the valley. Then it befell that, after feeding their horses, Lope Martin and his two companions came out to the place where they had been ordered to wait, and they encountered the troops of Francisco Hernandez, who were all going in search of us, and when they saw them they put spurs to their horses in order to pass beyond them [Hernandez's men], for they had good horses; they dashed off, with the men of Francisco

Hernandez after them. [Then] the horse of Lope Martin fell in a mound of sand, and there they took him prisoner. Cifontes and Caxas had a chance to escape, and as night had now closed down, and as all were sandy wastes, they did not make out the road so as to go and warn us before they were lost. Lope Martin having been captured, Francisco Hernandez asked him about us, where we were and how many of us there were and all the rest which he wished to know. And when he had learned it, he cut off his [Martin's] head and, with all his troops, came in search of us. And, being now close upon us, a little less than a league away, it appeared to them that they had lost the road, and they waited for dawn, and when day came they found themselves in the middle of the road, and if this had not befallen they would have caught us unawares and sleeping, and they would have killed us all, for, as Pablo de Meneses had left behind the three men already mentioned, he was careless and did not have sentinels. Being in these hollows on this day, one of our soldiers went

out to a high place to look for maize, and he saw on a plain which lies beyond these hollows Francisco Hernandez with all his troops and banners, and although we speedily saddled our horses and mounted, they were on us, and we went retreating, fighting all together for more than three leagues, and, finally, Francisco Hernandez, with all his troops, overcame us and routed us, killing some of our men and taking others prisoners. By great good luck I escaped, because, when my horse was killed by an arquebuse-shot, a negro of mine came up whom I had sent ahead on a stallion, and, mounting him, I crossed a hill of sand and so escaped.

Having won this victory, Francisco Hernandez withdrew and went to Nasca, a valley which is sixty leagues from Lima. Here he re-formed his forces, remaining in this place more than a month. The camp of His Majesty came to Chincha, thirty leagues from Lima, and here it stayed until Francisco Hernandez went up into the mountains, where he learned of the coming of Alonso de Alvarado

with eight hundred men in 'search of him. Francisco Hernandez tried to avoid him, taking refuge in some deserts. The marshal followed him, and Francisco Hernandez passed him by on one side and journeyed toward Cuzco. And the marshal went after him and came up with him at a river called Chuquinga, and, having caught up with him there, he attacked him too hastily, without letting his men rest, and he attacked him at a fort which is in the middle of a river, and, having been lost and beaten as he [Alvarado] was, his troops deserted him, and so the victory was won [by Francisco Hernandez Giron]. Francisco Hernandez, [even though] vanquished [himself], vanquished the marshal and his men. And having won this victory, he went to Cuzco, where he re-formed his army.

When the oidores learned of the defeat of the marshal and his troops, they made haste and went against him, making Pablo de Meneses general, and Don Pedro Portocarrero master of the camp. Assembling as many troops as they could, they went to Cuzco,

and, when they arrived, Francisco Hernandez had already set forth toward the Collao, and, when they followed him, he stopped at a place called Pucara, and there he waited for the camp of His Majesty, and, when he was arrived there, he established himself in a fort which there is in this Pucara. Then, the camp of His Majesty having arrived, his men lodged and established themselves near a river facing the camp of Francisco Hernandez, a little more than an arquebuse-shot away. Here they had their skirmishes every day, and Francisco Hernandez got the best of them. Matters being so, Francisco Hernandez determined to attack, on a certain night, the camp of His Majesty. The oidores had news of it, and, on the night when Francisco Hernandez was to go against them, they moved the location of the camp, leaving in the first site a drummer with some Spaniards and negroes, so that Francisco Hernandez, believing that the camp was [still] there, should make his attack in vain. And so it was that, when he heard the drum, and believing that

they were still there as before, he delivered his blow at the air, for the negroes and drummer fled. And so Francisco Hernandez and his men learned the trick, and, returning to the place where the soldiers and army of His Majesty now were, his arquebusiers began to fire, and the artillery of His Majesty's camp began to play upon those of Francisco Hernandez, and so this encounter developed, and the men of Francisco Hernandez withdrew, having wounded and killed some of those of the camp of the oidores. And in this engagement some of the men of Francisco Hernandez passed over to the camp of the oidores, and so Francisco Hernandez lost courage and all his men. And the next day it befell that Tomás Vazquez and Piedrahita, captains of Francisco Hernandez, secretly received pardon from the oidores, and for this reason Francisco Hernandez fled one night with about sixty of the guiltiest men, his friends, and so they were all dispersed, some going in one direction, and others in another. The oidores sent captains to the places where they had news that they

were fleeing, and so they captured them and killed them.

They captured Francisco Hernandez at Xauxa. This Francisco Hernandez killed many persons. In the time that his tyranny lasted, many robberies were committed by him.<sup>140</sup>

After this, in the time of the president Castro, there were some secret mutinies. May it please our Lord that they have ended forever. For if, for our sins, something is sent upon us, it would be so bad that never would the like of it have been seen or heard of, if one may judge by the bountiful experience which this land has had in the past of uprisings, for each one excelled in evilness the others which had happened in this land, and for this reason it is understood what great evil would result if some insurrection should happen [now]. This is what happened in this kingdom after I entered it, which was when the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro came from Spain, and, in my judgment, it was perhaps forty-two years ago that we came to conquer

and discover these kingdoms beyond Tumbez, which he had previously found, and from here he went to ask His Majesty for the government, and then, as I have said, I came hither with him. This which I have written I saw, except the discovery as far as Tumbez which the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro had done before, as I have declared at the beginning, and I learned and saw some things touching the natives of this kingdom which I have declared here. All that is written here happened so, and it is the truth, without my having added or made up anything. I have dared to write this history because those who know me know that I am a friend of the truth, and that I use it always, and so all that is found here is written with entire truth. This writing was finished on the seventh of January of the year one thousand, five hundred and seventy-one. I do not put down here the times and years that all this happened and befell, because so much time has gone by.



## NOTES



## NOTES FOR THE INTRODUCTION TO PEDRO PIZARRO'S RELATION

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Aleš Hrdlička has probably done more than any other man in connexion with definitely establishing the zoölogical relations existing formerly between Asiatic man and man in America. Consult:

HRDLIČKA, Aleš:

- 1912. Early Man in South America. Bulletin 52, BAE, Washington.
- 1912b. Restes dans l'Asie Orientale de la race qui a peuplé l'Amérique. CIAAP, xiv, pages 409-414.
- 1917. Transpacific Migrations. Man, xvii, pages 29-30.
- 1917b. The Genesis of the American Indian. ICA, xix, pages 559-568.

Consult likewise, especially with regard to early folk-movements on the American continent:

SPINDEN, Herbert J.:

- 1913. A Study of Maya Art. PMM, vi. Cambridge, Mass.
- 1917. The Origin and Distribution of Agriculture in America. ICA, xix, pages 269-277.
- 1917b. Ancient Civilizations of Mexico and Central America. New York. Especially pages 43-64.

Note.—For abbreviations, see page 531.

JOYCE, Thomas A.:

1912. South American Archaeology. New York. Pages 189-192.  
1914. Mexican Archaeology. New York. Pages 5-30 and 199-217.  
1916. Central American and West Indian Archaeology. New York.

MEANS, Philip Ainsworth:

1918. Las Relaciones entre Centro-America y Sud-America en la Epoca Prehistorica. BSGl, xxxiii, pages 151-170.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to the works just named consult:

MORLEY, Sylvanus Griswold:

1915. An Introduction to the Study of Maya Hieroglyphs. Bulletin 57, BAE, Washington.  
1920. The Inscriptions at Copan. Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publ. No. 219. Washington.

MEANS, Philip Ainsworth:

1918. Pre-Columbian Peruvian Chronology and Cultures. Man, xviii, pages 168-169.

<sup>3</sup> HADDON, A. C.:

1912. Wanderings of Peoples. London.

NORDENSKIÖLD, Baron Erland:

1917. The Guarani Invasion of the Inca Empire. GR, iv, pages 103-121.

MEANS, Philip Ainsworth:

1917. A Survey of Ancient Peruvian Art. TCAAS,   
xxi, pages 315-442. Especially pages 363-368.

<sup>4</sup> The standard works for reference with regard to culture-sequence are, in addition to those of Joyce already referred to, the following:

BEUCHAT, Henri:

1912. Manuel d'Archéologie Américaine. Paris.

MARKHAM, Sir Clements R.:

1910. The Incas of Peru. London.

Information on the same subject may also be found in these works:

IJON Y CAAMAÑO, Jacinto:

1914. Aborígenes de Imbabura. Quito.

<sup>5</sup> The period of cultural depression in the highlands may conveniently be called the Tampu Tocco or Paccari Tampu Period, for legend states that the ancestors of the Incas dwelt in a place of those names during the time that it lasted. Consult:

MEANS, Philip Ainsworth:

1917b. Culture Sequence in the Andean Area. ICA,   
xix, pages 236-252.

<sup>6</sup> The arbitrary creation of separate culture-periods by Prof. Max Uhle has done much to encumber the true significance of the coast civilizations. As a matter of fact, the coast cultures and their various phases show a remarkable continuity and consistence.

<sup>7</sup> The dates for the reigns of the Incas used here will be found to differ from those which I used in earlier writings. This is due very largely to the influence of Drs. Tello, Wiesse and Riva-Agüero, all of Lima. The present dates are arrived at by means of taking an average of the dates appearing in the works presently to be named. As all of the systems used in attaining this average are eminently sane and full of elements of accuracy, we may assume that the average of them will be as nearly correct as may be under the circumstances which exist in connexion with a civilization which had no documentary history.

I. Garcilasso de la Vega's dates as worked out by Markham and Uhle. See:

MARKHAM, (Sir) Clements R.:

1856. Cuzco . . . and Lima. London. Page 160.

UHLE, Max:

1903. Pachacamac. Philadelphia. Page 54.

II. FISKE, John:

1892. The Discovery of America. Boston. 2 volumes. II, page 131.

III. GONZALEZ DE LA ROSA, Manuel:

1909. Ensayo de Cronologia Incana. RH, iv, pages 41-54.

IV. The Chronology of Miguel Cavello Balboa as given by Wiener. See:

WIENER, Charles:

1874. Essai sur . . . l'Empire des Incas. Paris.  
Page 53.

V. CORDOBA Y URRUTIA, José Maria de:

1875. Las tres Epocas del Peru. Lima.

VI. WIESSE, Carlos:

1913. Las Civilizaciones Primitivas del Peru. Lima.  
Pages 176-177.

<sup>8</sup> The best description of Inca origins is this one:

UHLE, Max:

1912. Los Origenes de los Incas. ICA, xvi, pages  
302-347.

<sup>9</sup> MARKHAM, 1910, pages 50-55.

<sup>10</sup> MEANS, 1917, pages 333-334.

<sup>11</sup> The linguistic evidence as to the affinities of these tribes is so chaotic still that it is of but little use. Much intensive research will be required before it is put in order.

<sup>12</sup> LIZARRAGA, Reginaldo:

1908. Descripcion y Poblacion de las Indias. Ed. by  
Carlos A. Romero. Lima. Page 352.

<sup>13</sup> For an excellent account of the Chancas, see:

GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA, el Ynca:

1869-71. The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas. Ed.  
by (Sir) Clements R. Markham. Hakluyt  
Soc., London. 2 volumes. I, pages 323 and  
following.

<sup>14</sup> Rocca II's reforms are described by Garcilasso (I, pages 333-337).

<sup>15</sup> This battle of Xaquixaguana is described by Garcilasso (II, pages 53-58).

<sup>16</sup> In 1914 these magnificent ruins belonged to Don Isaac Silva of Huarcocondo, valley of Anta.

<sup>17</sup> The god Viracocha was undoubtedly pre-Inca.

<sup>18</sup> The spear-thrower seems to have been characteristic of the coast and the sling of the highlands, but both became widely distributed under the Incas. See:

UHLE, Max:

1907. La Estolicea en el Peru. RH, II, pages 118-128.

<sup>19</sup> The Incas found the coast-cultures so respectable and so firmly crystallized into their own forms that they had, in many respects, to modify their own customs on the coast, whereas the less advanced peoples of the interior had no such effect upon them.

<sup>20</sup> Sir Clements used these words in a letter written to the present editor in 1915.

<sup>21</sup> The boundaries of the coast lordships were, originally, of a strictly geographical nature, being composed of rivers, mountains and similar natural barriers. But as culture advanced and as the political horizon of the people widened, these barriers were, to a large extent, overridden. Vestiges of them, however, may still be found, especially in the department of Piura, where

Chimu rule was relatively weak, perhaps more theoretical than actual. There, during a short day's ride, one passes through Indian communities which obviously are widely different in a number of respects, and in this we see a strong survival of the old pre-Chimu regionalism which was once general throughout the coast.

<sup>22</sup> Pachacutec, though he merits much honour for his military achievements on the coast, nevertheless profited much from the tentative conquests further south made by his predecessors. Their experience taught him what were the best sorts of strategy and troop-movements, and they also made it clear that the weak-point of the coast states was their dependence on irrigation for their water-supply.

<sup>23</sup> Though the study of Ecuadorian pre-Columbian history is yet in its infancy, we already know enough to show that there was in that region a culture-sequence not unlike that of Peru. Indeed, a letter recently received by the editor from Sr. Jijon y Caamaño states that some of the Ecuadorian cultures are intimately allied with those of Peru. Consult, in addition to works already referred to:

SAVILLE, Marshall H.:

1907-10. *Antiquities of Manabi*. New York. 2 volumes.

GONZALEZ SUAREZ, Federico:

1890-1903. *Historia General del Ecuador*. Quito. 7 volumes.

1892. Atlas Arqueologico. Quito. 2 volumes.  
1904. Prehistoria Ecuatoriana. Quito.  
1908. Los Aborígenes de Imbabura y del Carchi.  
Quito.

DORSEY, George A.:

1901. Archaeological Investigations on the Island of  
La Plata, Ecuador. FCMP, No. 56. Chicago.

JIJON Y CAAMAÑO, Jacinto; and LARREA, Carlos M.:

1918. Un Cementerio Incasico en Quito y Notas  
Acerca de los Incas en el Ecuador. Quito.

<sup>24</sup> ERCILLA Y ZUÑIGA, Alonso de:

- 1569-89. La Araucana. Madrid. 3 volumes.

<sup>25</sup> MEANS, Philip Ainsworth:

- 1918b. A Note on the Guarani Invasions of the Inca  
Empire. GR, iv, pages 482-484.

<sup>26</sup> Markham (1910, page 241) opposes the belief that  
Atahualpa's mother was a princess of Quito. Wiese  
(1913, page 196) ably discusses the whole matter.

<sup>27</sup> A convenient summary of the chief Inca marriages  
was given by Sir Clements R. Markham in his edition  
of Sarmiento. Consult:

SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA, Pedro:

1907. History of the Incas. Ed. by Sir Clements  
Markham. Hakluyt Soc., London. Page 258.

<sup>28</sup> Accounts of the death of Huayna Capac are given by Garcilasso (II, pages 465-469) and by Sarmiento (pages 166-169). The latter says that the illness was small-pox.

<sup>29</sup> The standard authorities for Inca social organization are:

BELAUNDE, Victor Andres:

1908. El Peru y los Modernos Sociologos. Lima.

CUNOW, Heinrich:

1898. Die Soziale Verfassung des Inkareichse. Brunswick.

SAAVEDRA, Juan Bautista:

1909. El Ayllu. La Paz.

RIVA-AGÜERO, José de la:

1910. La Historia en el Peru. Lima. Pages 61-113.

<sup>30</sup> MEANS, Philip Ainsworth:

1918c. Racial Factors in Democracy. Boston. Pages 120-122.

<sup>31</sup> Markham (1919, pages 96-114) gives a thorough review of the religious aspects of pre-Columbian Peru.

<sup>32</sup> The effects of isolation on the ancient dwellers of the Andes and on their culture will be found analyzed in my 1918c, pages 122-125.

<sup>33</sup> This account of Spanish achievements in Middle America is based on the following works:

CORTES, Fernando:

1908. Letters . . . to Charles V. Ed. by Francis Augustus Macnutt. New York. 2 volumes.

SAVILLE, Marshall H.:

1918. The Discovery of Yucatan in 1517 by Hernandez de Cordoba. GR, vi, pages 436-448.

MARTYR D'ANGHERA, Pedro (or Pietro):

1912. De Orbe Novo. Ed. by Francis Augustus Macnutt. New York. 2 volumes.

GOMARA, Francisco Lopez de:

1554. Historia de Mexico. Antwerp.

DIAZ DEL CASTILLO, Bernal:

- 1908-16. A True History of the Conquest of New Spain. Ed. by Alfred Percival Maudslay. Hakluyt Soc., London. 5 volumes.

MEANS, Philip Ainsworth:

1917. History of the Spanish Conquest of Yucatan and of the Itzas. PMP, vii. Cambridge, Mass.

<sup>34</sup> The section on Geographical Aspects has been built upon the following authorities:

BOWMAN, Isaiah:

1916. The Andes of Southern Peru. New York.

PAZ-SOLDAN, Mariano Felipe:

1865. Atlas Geografico del Peru. Paris.

1877. Diccionario Geografico Estadistico del Peru. Lima.

RAIMONDI, Antonio:

- 1874-1913. El Peru. Lima. 6 volumes.

## NOTES TO PEDRO PIZARRO

<sup>35</sup> Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro and Fernando de Luque were three prominent citizens of Darien in 1525. The two first mentioned were adventurers who, though they owned lands and Indians, were without substantial resources. Luque was vicar and curate and chancellor of the cathedral. From its foundation in 1513 by a Brief from Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici) to the end of 1524 the Cathedral had been at Santa Maria la Antigua del Darien. In the latter year, however, it was moved to Panama, Don Vicente de Peraza being Bishop. At this time Pascual de Andagoya had only lately made his voyage southwardly to Biru, somewhere on the present Colombian littoral. Ill health induced him to permit Pizarro and his associates to take up the task which he had begun. Pizarro and Almagro furnished the brawn and a good deal of the brain; Luque provided the wherewithal to finance the enterprise, as well as exerting his influence to induce Governor Pedro Arias de Avila to favour its being put into execution. Pizarro made his first trip in 1525; later he made a second trip, reaching the Islands of Gallo and Gorgona on the coast, about two and one-half degrees north of the Equator. On account of observations made on this trip, Pizarro, Almagro and Luque made their famous contract to work together, signing it at Panama on the 10 March, 1526. Montesinos preserves the document in full. References:

MONTESINOS, Fernando:

1906. *Los Anales del Peru*. Ed. by Victor M. Maurtua. Madrid. 2 volumes. Año 1526.

LEWIS, Samuel:

1918. *The Cathedral of Old Panama*. HAHR, I, pages 447-453.

ANDERSON, C. L. G.:

1911. *Old Panama and Castilla del Oro*. Washington.

PRESCOTT, William Hickling:

1847. *History of the Conquest of Peru*. 2 volumes. London.

MARKHAM, Sir Clements R.:

1892. *History of Peru*. Chicago. Pages 67-70.

ANDAGOYA, Pascual de:

1865. *Narrative*. . . Ed. by CRM, Hakluyt Soc., London.

<sup>36</sup> The name Peru, Piru or Biru has been applied arbitrarily to the ancient realm of Ttahu-ntin-suyu, The Land of the Four Provinces. In time it was often applied to the whole of South America by cartographers and others. There are a number of theories as to the origin of the name, but the most likely one is that it belonged primarily to a small river and cacique-ship on the Colombian coast. See:

GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA, el Ynca: ' 1869-71. The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas. Ed. by CRM, Hakluyt Soc., London. 2 volumes. 1, pages 27-36.

<sup>37</sup> This message sent back by the discontented men on Gallo is undoubtedly historic. Cieza de Leon gives the words thus:

“Pues Señor Gobernador  
Mirelo bien por entero  
Que allá va el Recogedor  
Y acá queda el Carnicero.”

Substantially the same words appear in Montesinos (1906, Ano 1527).

<sup>38</sup> The officer sent out by the Governor to bring back the discontented men from the Island of Gallo was named Tafur. Montesinos calls him Alonzo and Cieza calls him Juan.

In spite of its obvious authenticity, the incident of the Thirteen is treated by Helps as fabulous. The correct list of the faithful adherents to Pizarro may be found in a note on pages 419-421 of Markham's translation of Cieza's Travels. (See Bibliography.) See also:

HELPS, Sir Arthur:  
1869. The Life of Pizarro. London.

TRUEBA Y COSIO, Joaquin Telésforo:  
1830. History of the Conquest of Peru. Edinburgh.

<sup>39</sup> The man whom Pedro Pizarro here calls Bartolomé Perez was in reality named Bartolomé Ruiz. He was an excellent pilot. His ship was the first European one to cross the Line off the west coast of South America. (Markham, 1892, page 69.) He died about the middle of February, 1533. Consult:

ROMERO, Carlos A.:

1906. Un Inedito Sobre Bartolomé Ruiz. RH, I, pages 65-69.

<sup>40</sup> For other accounts of this incident, see:

SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA, Pedro:

1895. Narratives of the Voyages of Pedro Sarmiento. . . Ed. by CRM, Hakluyt Soc., London.

<sup>41</sup> Francisco Pizarro was in Spain from the Summer of 1528 to January 19, 1530.

<sup>42</sup> The Capitulación with Queen Juana was signed by Francisco Pizarro on 24 or 26 July, 1529. The unequal honours given at this time to Pizarro and to Almagro were the cause of serious friction between the two.

<sup>43</sup> The opportune arrival of Ponce de León and Soto caused Almagro, always an opportunist and waverer, to come out of his fit of the sulks and join in the expedition. Hernando de Soto was the man who later gained fame exploring the Mississippi.

<sup>44</sup> Pizarro, now accompanied by his brothers Hernando, Gonzalo and Juan, by his uterine brother Francisco Martin de Alcántara and by his cousin Pedro Pizarro our author, left for Peru early in November, 1530. With them also were Padre Vicente de Valverde and Padre Juan de Sosa. They had two ships, fire-arms and horses. Almagro stayed at Panama.

<sup>45</sup> Coaque or Coaqui is North of the bay called Caraque. It is on the Ecuadorian coast, about three degrees North of the equator. It is a hot and pestilential region. See:

WOLF, Teodoro:

1892. *Geografia y Geologia del Ecuador*. Leipzig. Page 157.

SAVILLE, Marshall H.:

1910. *Antiquities of Manabi*. Vol. II. New York. Pages 24-30.

<sup>46</sup> The ceyva or ceyba tree is a widespreading and thickly umbrageous tree whose fruit is full of cottony fibre. See:

COBO, Bernabé:

1890-93. *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*. Ed. by Marcos Jimenez de la Espada. Soc. de Bibliófilos Andaluces. Seville. 4 volumes. II, page 124.

<sup>47</sup> America and Europe, when their peoples came into contact, seem to have exchanged, or rather interchanged, a number of serious diseases. Without going into medical matters too deeply, it is well to state that syphilis and other venereal ailments were ancient in America, having originated from certain obscene practices of the natives. Berrugas or Verrugas was also an ancient disease in Peru. Realistic pottery representations of these ailments, as well as of other matters connected with them, are numerous. See:

ASHMEAD, Albert S.:

1903. Testimony of the Huacos (Mummy-Grave) Potteries of Old Peru. Proceedings of the APSP, XLII, pages 378-395.

ODRIOZOLA, Ernesto:

1908. Estado Actual de Nuestros Conocimientos Acerca de la Enfermedad de Carrion o Verruga Peruana. Lima.

PALMA, Ricardo (hijo):

1908. La Uta en el Peru. Lima.

PATRON, Pablo:

1889. La Verruga de los Conquistadores. Lima.

TELLO, Julio C.:

1909. La Antigüedad de la Siphilis en el Peru. Lima.

VELEZ LOPEZ, Lizardo R.:

1912. Huacos Antropomorfos Mutilados del Peru. ICA, XVIII, pages 276-279. London.

WAGNER, Raoul D.:

1909. Un Huaco Figurant un Cas Pathologique.  
JSAP, VI (n. s.), pages 273-274. Paris.

NOTE.—The collections in private hands in Peru supply many further data in this connexion.

<sup>48</sup> Sebastián de Benalcazar reached Pizarro about July or August, 1532.

<sup>49</sup> For information about the Island of la Puna and Tumbala its Lord, see Introduction, Section on Geographical Aspects. Consult likewise:

JOYCE, Thomas A.:

1912. South American Archaeology. New York.  
Page 57.

GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA, el Ynca:

1869-71. The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas. Ed.  
by CRM, Hakluyt Soc., London. 2 volumes.  
II, pages 428-431.

CIEZA DE LEON, Pedro de:

1864. Travels. Ed. by CRM, Hakluyt Soc., London.  
Pages 198-200.

MARKHAM, Sir Clements R.:

1910. The Incas of Peru. New York. Pages 183-184.

SAVILLE, Marshall H.:

1910. The Antiquities of Manabi. Vol. II.

<sup>50</sup> The "ewes", of course, were llamas.

<sup>51</sup> Morillo and Bocanegra, whose names do not appear to have been recorded by other early writers on Peru, must have been among the first, if not actually the first, Castilian settlers in that country. Since they had the Indian women mentioned by Pedro Pizarro as their "servants" it is quite possible that they begot the first mestizo children in Peru.

<sup>52</sup> For information about Puerto or Porto Viejo and its people, see Introduction, Section on Geographical Aspects.

<sup>53</sup> There can be but little doubt but that Pedro de Alvarado was in truth the evil genius of the Conquest of Peru. His career before reaching that country amply proved his evil and cruel disposition, particularly such events as his massacre of the Aztec nobles in Mexico. Nevertheless, he was a brave soldier, ever undaunted in the face of danger, and the hundreds of men whom he brought with him to Peru were invaluable, even though not above committing "atrocities". Consult:

DIAZ DEL CASTILLO, Bernal:

1908-16. *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain*. Ed. by Alfred Percival Maudslay, Hakluyt Soc., London. 5 volumes. *Passim*, and especially Vol. v, pages 302-303.

MARTYR D'ANGHERA, Peter:

1912. *De Orbe Novo*. Ed. by Francis Augustus Macnutt. New York. 2 volumes. Vol. II, pages 359-364.

CORTES, Hernando:

1908. *The Letters of Cortes to Charles V*. Ed. by Francis Augustus Macnutt. New York. 2 volumes. Vol. I, page 284, and *passim*.

<sup>54</sup> The best and earliest descriptions of Tumbez are those given by Pedro de Cieza de Leon and by Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman. It is to be noted that all vestiges of the buildings which they mention have vanished, and one wonders how accurately the latter of the two, at least, was informed. Consult:

ENRIQUEZ DE GUZMAN, Alonzo:

1862. *The Life and Acts of Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman*. Ed. by CRM, Hakluyt Soc., London. Page 95.

CIEZA DE LEON, Pedro de:

1864. (*Travels*). pages 23-25 and 193-197.

<sup>55</sup> For information concerning the Cinto valley, see Introduction, Section on Geographical Aspects.

<sup>56</sup> For data regarding these places, see Introduction, Section on Geographical Aspects.

<sup>57</sup> As stated in the Introduction, the civil war between Huascar and Atahualpa was one of the fundamental

causes of Spanish success, and it was a product of the deep-rooted weakness of the Inca empire at that period. In this struggle three Indian generals distinguished themselves. These were Chalcuchima, Quizquiz and Rumi Nahui. They had all been trained under the Inca Huayna Capac. All were faithful adherents to Atahualpa and, at the time of the Conquest, stalwart opponents of the Spaniards. See Notes Nos. 6 and 41 in the second volume of the Cortes Society's series.

<sup>58</sup> For information about the Chira valley, see Introduction, Section on Geographical Aspects.

<sup>59</sup> La Guaca or la Huaca is in the Chira valley, on the South side of the river, opposite Amotape. It was, like Chira itself (now known as Sojo, and the property of Don Miguel Checa), the seat of a chieftain who was feudatory to the Chimú, at least nominally, in immediately pre-Inca times.

<sup>60</sup> The thirteen caciques (properly curacas) thus massacred by the Spaniards were the feudal chiefs of such places as Chira, la Huaca, Tangarara (Pedro Pizarro's Tangarala), and Querocotillo, all in the Chira valley. The Piura here mentioned is, of course, the Piura valley, the next to the South of the Chira.

<sup>61</sup> Tallana or Tallano is another name for Yunga, the generic name applied by the Spaniards to the coast dwellers. See:

CASAS, Bartolomé de las:

1892. De las Antiguas Gentes del Peru. Ed. by Marcos Jimenez de la Espada. Madrid. Page 111.

<sup>62</sup> San Miguel de Tangarara was founded on 24 May, 1532, on a site upon the North bank of the Chira River, just opposite the great pyramid of Sojo (then called Chira). Ruins of old buildings may still be seen there, as well as many vestiges of irrigation canals, but it is doubtful if they were erected in the time of Pizarro. The site was found to be unsatisfactory, probably on account of soil-deterioration due to bad irrigation and a lack of proper drainage, a surplus of water causing a chemical destruction of the soil for agricultural purposes. (This is the opinion of Mr. G. E. Nicholson, a soil-expert resident at Catacaos, Piura, Peru.) Sometime between 1534 and 1554 the town was moved to a site known as Piura-la-vieja today. It is in the Piura valley not far from the town of Chulucanas. On the whole, it is a very bad site for a settlement on account of the fact that all the good water-springs are a considerable distance away. The soil is poor and rocky. The houses were built of rough stones and adobe, but now only the former can be seen, the adobe having long since vanished. Between 1571 and 1585 the people of Piura moved in a body to San Francisco de Buena Esperanza de Payta, where again they were beset with difficulties on account of the difficulty of obtaining wood and water. In 1587 Payta was raided and

sacked by Thomas Cavendish, and soon thereafter most of the inhabitants moved off and established themselves at Tacala in the Piura valley, and there the city of San Miguel de Piura is to this day. See:

EGUIGUREN, Victor:

1895. Fundacion y Traslaciones de S. Miguel de Piura. BSGI, IV, pages 260-268.

GARCIA ROSELL, Ricardo:

1903. El Departamento de Piura. BSGI, XIII, pages 193-242.

MEANS, Philip Ainsworth:

1918. A Footnote to the History of the Conquest of Peru. HAHR, I, pages 453-457.

MONTESINOS, Fernando:

1906. Los Anales del Peru. Ed. by Victor M. Maurtua. Madrid. 2 volumes. I, page 71.

<sup>63</sup> Pizarro left San Miguel 24 September, 1532, leaving Sebastián de Benalcázar in charge, with Navarro to aid him. See Chronology, pages 122-123 of this volume.

<sup>64</sup> This term is intended to cast opprobrium upon the men in question.

<sup>65</sup> Caxamalca (now Cajamarca) was a favourite residence of Atahualpa. To all intents and purposes it was the de facto capital of Peru at the time of which Pizarro is here speaking. It was clearly a city of con-

siderable importance and magnificence, set amid fertile and beautiful surroundings. In the centre of the town was a fine large plaza with sides about 600 feet in length and provided with fountains of water. There were some 2000 houses arranged in straight streets and gaily painted or stuccoed. See:

RAMUSIO, Giambattista:

1563-65. *Viaggi*. Venice. 3 volumes. III, page 373.

<sup>66</sup> The Lord of Chincha here referred to was the feudatory chieftain of the southern half of the littoral. Like a mediatized prince he was ruling, under Inca guidance, the region over which his ancestors had held undisputed sway. Beneath him, in turn, were minor chiefs, who had charge of individual valleys or regions, owing him allegiance.

<sup>67</sup> Atahualpa was seized on November 16, 1532. The parallel between the course of action taken by Pizarro and that followed by Cortes in Mexico is striking. In both cases the capture of an Indian monarch's person put the whole machinery of government into the control of the leader of the invaders.

<sup>68</sup> Atahualpa offered ransom about November 18 or 20, 1532. Around 20 December it began to arrive at Cajamarca. By May 3, 1533, it was all assembled. By June 17 it was distributed, the total value being about £3,500,000 of modern money, among the soldiery. On August 29 Atahualpa was put to death.

Consult:

SANCHO, Pedro:

1872. Report on the Distribution of the Ransom of Atahualpa. Ed. by CRM, Hakluyt Soc., London.
1917. An Account of the Conquest of Peru. Ed. by Philip Ainsworth Means, Cortes Soc., New York.

<sup>69</sup> Xauxa or Antamarca are usually given as the place where Huascar met his end, presumably about June, 1532.

<sup>70</sup> It is not possible definitely to identify these two men, but the Guamantito of our author may be that Titu Atauchi who was a full brother of Huascar, or he may be Huascar's son, Huauri Titu. Of Mayta Yupanqui it is possible to speak much more definitely. He was a general in the service of Huascar, a military opponent and rival of Atahualpa's three generals referred to above. See:

Markham, 1910, page 251.

SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA, Pedro:

1907. The History of the Incas. Ed. by CRM, Hakluyt Soc., London. Page 174.

<sup>71</sup> It is to be noted that Pedro Pizarro begins his list of Incas with Viracocha who, as a matter of fact, was by no means the first one. See Introduction.

<sup>72</sup> There seems to be but little doubt that Atahualpa really was a son of a princess of the Caran Scyri dynasty of Quito. The late Sir Clements R. Markham, however, was of the opposite opinion, for the reason that if Atahualpa "had been born at Quito he would have been only eight or ten when his father died". Huayna Capac died in 1525, and supposedly Atahualpa was born about 1516. It was the year 1513 and the succeeding years which saw the great northern campaign of Huayna Capac. I see no reason why Atahualpa could not have been born during this time. Certainly Markham's statement that Atahualpa was with his father, and a grown man at the time, during this campaign is open to doubt. Sarmiento makes Tocta Coca mother of Atahualpa. Consult:

Markham, 1910, pages 240-241; Sarmiento, 1907, pages 169-170.

<sup>73</sup> It is said that Atahualpa was at one time appointed *Ranti* or *Incap Ranti* (viceroy) of Quito. Gradually, however, encouraged by the allegiance to him which he found among the Quito generals and by the recollection of his maternal ancestry, he made his rule independent of that of Huascar, thereby giving rise to the civil war between them.

<sup>74</sup> The information given by Pedro Pizarro about the treatment of the dead is most useful. It is well to note that, contrary to the prevalent opinion, deliberate and scientific embalming was practised by the pre-Columbian Andeans. Consult:

Markham, 1910, pages 111-112. (Says embalming was used.)

Joyce, 1912, page 145. (Says embalming was not used.)

CASTAING, A.:

1887. Les Embauments et Lessepultures Chez les Anciens Peruvians. ASAF, v, pages 120-134.

REUTTER, M.:

1915. Analyses de Deux Masses Ayant Servi aux Incas a Embaumer Leurs Morts. vi, pages 288-293.

<sup>75</sup> Pachacamac had for centuries been a place of pilgrimage to people from immense distances. For that reason it has proved one of the richest archeological sites in America. It was visited in November, 1533, by Hernando Pizarro, Miguel de Astete and Francisco Xeres, who all described it as being an important religious centre at that time. Consult:

UHLE, Max:

1903. Pachacamac. University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia.

<sup>76</sup> The word *orejon* means Big-ear. That term not being euphonious, the Spanish one has been preserved in the text. It has the force of "Cuzco nobleman". The men of this class wore enormous ear-studs in the lobe of the ear as a sign of their rank.

<sup>77</sup> Xauxa was an important place at the time of the Conquest. Pedro Sancho (in his Chapter iv) gives an account of it. See also, Cieza de Leon, 1864 (Travels), pages 296-301.

<sup>78</sup> As stated elsewhere in this volume, the incestuous marriages here referred to were a late development in Inca social organization. In earlier times the practice had been to make alliances with the families of neighbouring chiefs.

<sup>79</sup> The baptism of Atahualpa is one of the most dramatic incidents of the Conquest for the reason that it typifies perfectly the fanatical and hypocritical spirit of some of the conquerors.

<sup>80</sup> The llautu was the badge of Inca sovereignty. It was also called masca paicha. The head-dress, whatever its form may have been, was without doubt as much a sign of rank as was a crown. Other grades of officials and dignitaries had llautus differing from that worn by the Sapa Inca. Consult:

UHLE, Max:

1907. La Masca Paicha de los Incas. RH, II, pages 227-232.

<sup>81</sup> This Tubalipa was the first of the puppet-Incas to be set up by Francisco Pizarro. His identity is not certain. He was very short-lived.

<sup>82</sup> A good description of Guamachuco or Huamachuco is given by Cieza de Leon, 1864 (Travels), pages 287-290.

<sup>83</sup> For comments on these regions, see Introduction, Section on Geographical Aspects.

<sup>84</sup> "Guichuasimí" is probably an attempt at "Quichua o Runa Simi", Runa Simi being another name for Quechua, and probably a much older name than the latter. Runa Simi literally means "Man's mouth". It is possible, of course, that "Guichuasimí" is an attempt to say "Quichua Simi"—Quichua mouth (i. e., Quichua language), indicating that it was the tongue of the Quichua folk (to whom modern usage tends to apply the name Quechua rather than Quichua). Consult:

MARKHAM, Sir Clements R.:

1864. Contributions towards a Grammar and Dictionary of the Quichua. London.

MIDDENDORF, E. W.:

1890. Das Runa Simi Oder die Keshua-Sprache. Leipzig.

1890b. Worterbuch des Runa Simi. Leipzig.

<sup>85</sup> Vilcaconga is a pass not far from the Apurimac River.

<sup>86</sup> The Avancay River runs into the Apurimac.

<sup>87</sup> Compare what Pedro Pizarro says with Sancho, Chapter x.

<sup>88</sup> The account of these deities given by Pedro Pizarro seems to have been followed very substantially by Cobo. Consult:

COBO, Bernabé:

1890-93. *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*. Ed. by Marcos Jimenez de la Espada. Seville. 4 volumes. Vol. iv, pages 74-75.

<sup>89</sup> For information regarding Xaquixaguana, see Introduction, Section on Geographical Aspects.

<sup>90</sup> For a most valuable study of Manco Inca, see:

BINGHAM, Hiram:

1912. *Vitcos, the Last Inca Capital*. Worcester, Mass. Consult also:

*Inca Documents*. Ed. by CRM, Hakluyt Soc., London. 1913.

CASTRO TITO CUSSI YUPANGUI INCA, Diego de:

1916. *Relacion de la Conquista del Peru y Hechos del Inca Manco II*. Ed. by Horacio H. Urteaga and Carlos A. Romero. Lima.

<sup>91</sup> Wherever . . . . . appears in the text it means that the original has a blank.

<sup>92</sup> Compare Sancho, pages 158-159 of the Cortes Society's edition.

<sup>93</sup> The Caxana or Casana was the palace of Pachacutec. It stands on the western corner of the great square called Huacay Pata (now the Plaza Mayor).

<sup>94</sup> The Atuncancha or Hatun Cancha was the palace of Ynca Yupanqui. It stands on the eastern corner of the Huacay Pata.

<sup>95</sup> This description of the rites for the dead is one of the best we have. Efforts to identify the word *verquis* have not yielded satisfactory results.

<sup>96</sup> Vila means Vilac Umu, the head-priest of the sacerdotal hierarchy. (Garcilasso, Lib. III, Cap. 22.)

<sup>97</sup> The garden of gold was undoubtedly a real thing, not an imaginary one. Pizarro's account, however, is more reasonable and less exuberant than some others (notably Garcilasso's), for he speaks as if the golden plants were set out only on special occasions, and Garcilasso (Lib. III, Cap. 24) conveys the impression that they were permanent.

In this connexion it is well to relate a story which I heard from an old Indian curaca at Sicuani near Cuzco in 1914. Bearing in mind the almost unbelievable profusion of gold and silver in the Inca temples and palaces, I asked him why it was that they were never stolen by the servants of the temples. He replied that when Inti the Sun and Mama Quilla the Moon were making the earth they worked very hard and both perspired profusely. The sweat ran from their brows

into the ground where it hardened, and the Sun's sweat became gold and the Moon's became silver. Therefore, these metals were regarded as unutterably sacred, and no one would ever dream of stealing them. I give this tale for what it may be worth. I have never seen it in any ancient books about long-ago Peru.

<sup>98</sup> The *acllahuasi* were the abodes of those consecrated females whom some writers have misnamed "Virgins of the Sun". As a matter of fact they were not anything else than potential concubines of the Sapa Inca or of other men of position. However, they were also a respected part of the religious establishment, and they had a definite part to take in matters of ritual. Like other branches of the Inca administrative machine, they were systematically grouped, thus: Ten *acllas* were under a superior *aclla*; ten superior *acllas* were under a mistress; ten mistresses were under an "abbess", and the abbess was directly under the authority of the *Vilac Umu* or of one of his vicars. There were several grades of *acllas*: The *yana-acllas* were the young novices (with a novitiate of three years); the *paco-acllas* were the concubines of chiefs or of others whom the Inca wished to honour; the *vayru-acllas* were dames of the *coya* or consort, and also concubines of the Inca; lastly, the *yura-acllas* were dedicated to the Sun. Consult:

CASTAING, A.:

1887b. *Les Croyances sur la Vie d'Outre-Tombe Chez les Anciens Péruviens*. ASAF, v, pages 49-86.

<sup>99</sup> The word escaños, meaning benches, is in the original, as printed. It is probably a misprint for escaña, St. Peter's corn, or one-grained wheat, *triticum monocodium*.

<sup>100</sup> This description of Sacsahuaman, the great fortress just north of Cuzco, is perfectly accurate. The south walls of the structure are late Inca in style, but the north walls (those referred to here) are much older.

<sup>101</sup> Orejones were of two sorts: The Incas-by-birth and the Incas-by-privilege. The general Quechua word for "lady" is palla.

<sup>102</sup> In the original text as published, the third name is repeated for the fourth.

<sup>103</sup> Cieza de Leon (1883, Chronicle, page 78) explicitly states that the moral conditions among the Incas were good. Wherever they found abominable practices to prevail, they did their utmost to stamp them out. The said abominable practices were especially common among the people on the northerly parts of the coast, and a study of some classes of Chimu pottery reveals the fact that great obscenity was very general among the most highly civilized people of the oldest Chimu period. Even our author, however, does not say that

these things existed among the Incas, and a modern point of view hesitates to sanction the describing of the incestuous marriages of the Incas as "immoral", for they did not infringe the ethical code of the people who had them.

<sup>104</sup> For an account of Jerez or Xerez and Sancho, see Introduction.

<sup>105</sup> Quinoa or quenua is a tree which grows at high levels. From the leaves a delicious dish may be made, by first boiling the leaves in the manner spinach is boiled, and then dressing them with vinegar and pepper. The seeds are prepared with milk or cheese, and are also very good and well-tasting food. This plant is one of those which will, some day or other, be commercialized so as to help out the world's food-supply.

<sup>106</sup> The city of Jauja was founded by Pizarro with only forty Spaniards on 4 October, 1533. Pizarro then passed onwards to Cuzco. Consult:

COBO, Bernabé:

1882. *Historia de la Fundacion de Lima*. Ed. by Manuel Gonzalez de la Rosa. Lima. Pages 8-9.

PHILLIPS, Federico:

1908. *Fundacion de Tarma*. RH, III, pages 29-38. Lima.

<sup>107</sup> Since both the modern editions use the spelling Grabiél instead of Gabriel, it is preserved here.

<sup>108</sup> On 28 November, 1534, the Cabildo of Jauja held a meeting at which it was decided to move the capital down to the coast. On December 4, Garcia de Salcedo, Rodrigo de Mazuelas and Francisco de Herrera were sent off to look for a new site. Pachacamac seems to have been considered, but finally Rimac (now Lima) was chosen as the place for the capital, and the new foundation took place on January 18, 1535. Consult:

Cobo, 1882, pages 12-18 and 19-23.

Libro Primero de Cabildos de Lima. Ed. by Enrique Torres Saldamando. Paris. 3 volumes. 1900.

<sup>109</sup> Trujillo was founded about the 6 or the 26 December, 1534. Consult:

CABERO, Marco A.:

1906. El Corregimiento de Sana y el Problema Histórico de la Fundación de Trujillo. RH, 1, pages 151-191; 337-373; 486-514. Lima. (Cf. especially page 370.)

<sup>110</sup> In rebuilding Cuzco the Spaniards utilized the massive walls of the Inca structures as a basis for their own erections of adobe and plaster and wood. The result is that one often sees in the Cuzco of today a

contrast between the austere grandeur of the lower stories and the tawdry flimsiness of the upper ones. The vast square in the centre of the city was made smaller by the building of some new houses.

<sup>111</sup> The musical instruments of pre-Inca period in Peru were all of the percussion or of the wind varieties, stringed instruments being unknown. Consult:

MEAD, Charles W.:

1903. The Musical Instruments of the Incas.  
AMNHGL, No. 11. New York.

<sup>112</sup> The war of Tunis, waged by Charles V against Barbarossa, corsair Moslem king of Tunis, culminated in July, 1535, with the taking of the great fortress of la Goleta. Consult:

CHAPMAN, Charles E.:

1918. A History of Spain. New York. Page 242.

<sup>113</sup> The word yungas is here used to mean hot. The leader of the besieging force was an uncle of Manco Inca.

<sup>114</sup> The Indian attacks upon Cuzco were made all the more formidable during this memorable siege by the fact that the Indians had learned how to use European arms and armour. Pedro Pizarro here makes an important remark, for he says that a Tambo (i. e., Paccari-Tampu or Tampu-Tocco) in Condesuyo (Cunti-

suyu) was the original home of the Incas. This disproves the claim that the home of the Incas was northeast of Cuzco, and makes it extremely likely that it was southwest of the city.

<sup>115</sup> For information about Alonso Enriquez (de Guzman), see Introduction.

<sup>116</sup> Almagro seized Cuzco about the middle of April, 1537.

<sup>117</sup> I have not been able to locate this place.

<sup>118</sup> It is clear that Pizarro confuses the name Antis, belonging to a savage tribe in the eastern forests, with Andes, the name given to the mountains by the Spaniards.

<sup>119</sup> Vitcos, the last Inca capital, has been seen and described by Professor Hiram Bingham. Consult: BINGHAM, Hiram:  
1912. Vitcos, the Last Inca Capital. Worcester, Mass.

<sup>120</sup> The point of this remark is by no means clear. Possibly it is a reference to some fancied effeminacy on Aldana's part. At all events it was very foolish of Almagro to antagonize Aldana.

<sup>121</sup> For descriptions of these wonderful bridges, see Garcilasso, 1869, pages 253-260; Cieza de Leon, 1864, pages 314-315.

<sup>122</sup> Almagro was put to death July 8, 1538.

<sup>123</sup> Manco Inca withdrew into Vilcabamba and to Vitcos in January, 1537.

<sup>124</sup> The Indian lady thus atrociously murdered is said by Cieza de Leon to have been the mistress of Francisco Pizarro, of Gonzalo Pizarro and of Antonio Picado. Consult:

CIEZA DE LEON, Pedro de:

1918. The War of Chupas. Ed. by CRM, Hakluyt Soc., London. Page 3.

<sup>125</sup> Pizarro was assassinated on June 26, 1541. A very full account of it appears in the work cited in the previous Note.

<sup>126</sup> Needless to state, the aspersions cast upon Cieza de Leon by our author are quite unjustifiable.

<sup>127</sup> Vaca de Castro was at Quito in November, 1541. (Cartas de Indias, page 465.)

<sup>128</sup> As Arequipa itself is not only a good distance inland but also some thousands of feet above the sea, "the port of Arequipa" must be either Islay or Tambo.

<sup>129</sup> Picado was beheaded in October, 1540. (Prescott, 1916, page 440.)

<sup>130</sup> Cieza calls this man Herrada, not Rada.

<sup>131</sup> Castro was working southward from Quito at this time.

<sup>132</sup> The battle of Chupas took place on 16 September, 1542.

<sup>133</sup> Remarks about Pedro Pizarro's geography will be found in the Introduction, Section on Geographical Aspects.

<sup>134</sup> Blasco Nuñez Vela reached Peru early in March, 1544. He arrived at Lima in May.

<sup>135</sup> This must be a different Picado, as the secretary was dead.

<sup>136</sup> Illan Xuarez de Carbajal was killed by Blasco Nuñez Vela on 13 September, 1544. This outrageous act turned the Audience against Nuñez.

<sup>137</sup> The rebellion of Diego Centeno against Gonzalo Pizarro began about May, 1545. The battle of Guarina or Huarina took place on October 21, 1547.

<sup>138</sup> There can be very little doubt but that Gonzalo Pizarro, encouraged by Carvajal, really entertained the ambition to make himself king. Consult:

CIEZA DE LEON, Pedro de:

1913. War of Quito. Ed. by CRM, Hakluyt Soc., London. Page 161.

<sup>139</sup> The remarks made by Pizarro as to the skin-colour of the Peruvians are very important and, probably, truthful. Today one finds people who claim to be pure Indian in blood who are very light in colour, but it is not possible to be sure that they have not some white blood.

<sup>140</sup> The rebellion of Hernandez Giron lasted 1553-1555.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AA.....	American Anthropologist.
AASP.....	American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings. (Worcester, Mass.)
AMNHGL.....	American Museum of Natural History, Guide Leaflet. (New York.)
APSP.....	American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia.
ASAF.....	Anales de la Société Américaine de France.
BAE.....	Bureau of American Eth- nology, Washington.
BSGL.....	Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima.
CIAAP.....	Congres International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhisto- riques.

CRM .....	Clements R. Markham.
FCMP .....	Field Columbian Museum Publications. (Chi- cago.)
GR .....	Geographical Review. (New York.)
HAHR .....	Hispanic American His- torical Review. (Wash- ington.)
ICA .....	International Congress of Americanists.
JRGS .....	Journal of the Royal Geo- graphical Society.
JSAP .....	Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris.
MAAA .....	Memoirs of the American Anthropological Asso- ciation.
MCAAS .....	Memoirs of the Connecti- cut Academy of Arts and Sciences. (New Haven.)
NGM .....	National Geographic Magazine. (Washing- ton.)
PAPS .....	Proceedings of the Ameri- can Philosophical Soci- ety. (Philadelphia.)

PMM.....	Peabody Museum, Memoirs. (Cambridge, Mass.)
PMP.....	Peabody Museum, Papers. (Cambridge, Mass.)
RH.....	Revista Histórica. (Lima.)
SMP.....	Smithsonian Miscellaneous Publications. (Washington.)
TCAAS.....	Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences. (New Haven.)

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